



Exchange and Trade in Medieval Europe

Papers of the 'Medieval Europe Brugge 1997' Conference
Volume 3

edited by
Guy De Boe & Frans Verhaeghe

I.A.P. Rapporten 3

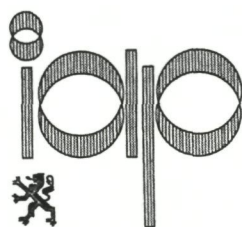
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uitgegeven door / edited by

Prof. Dr. Guy De Boe



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Hugo Blake
Axel Christophersen
Marc Ryckaert

Preface

Trade and exchange may take many forms and affect practically all aspects of medieval and later society, whether of a straightforward material nature or related to more general social and economic behavioural patterns. In addition, the archaeological study of trade and exchange has moved from simple and even simplistic approaches using readily identifiable goods of known – or presumed to be known – origins and their geographical distribution as a means to identify trade relations between different points in space. It is now understood that the study of trade and exchange cannot readily be divorced from the many other components of the material world.

Trade and exchange can therefore reasonably be considered to constitute one of the most complex issues which confront archaeology in general. Medieval and later archaeology are no exception to the rule and in a number of cases these disciplines have also to take into account what is known about the general economic and social context in which trade and processes of exchange emerged, functioned and influenced the material and social, economic and even cultural world. But the complexity of the subject, its interaction with so many other spheres of human society and the many possible clues – from the goods themselves over trade technology, the spatial impact of trade through the influence it has on spatial organisation and infrastructure to the possible impact on local production and on social representation by means of imported commodities – make it very difficult to isolate trade and exchange from the other components of the medieval and later world: trade and exchange are always present and always play some part in the development of those societies.

The present volume offers a collection of pre-printed papers related to the world of medieval and later trade and exchange. These papers were presented on the occasion of the international conference on medieval and later archaeology MEDIEVAL EUROPE

BRUGGE 1997 which took place in Brugge, Belgium, on 1 through 4 October 1997. A number of them was presented and debated during the sessions of section 03, under the general title *Exchange and trade - Echanges et commerce - Warenaustausch und Handel - Uitwisseling en handel*, organized by Hugo Blake (University of London), Axel Christophersen (University of Trondheim and NIKU, Trondheim) and Marc Ryckaert (Provincial Government of West-Flanders). Unfortunately, quite a few contributors to this section did not submit a text in time for inclusion in the present volume.

In addition, the above-mentioned complexity of the subject leads almost automatically to a considerable degree of overlap between this topic and the many other subjects discussed at the conference. This in itself clearly demonstrates the need for medieval and later archaeology to pay suitable attention to the many intricate links and interactions between the many components of the medieval and later world, which was and is in itself one of the basic reasons for the MEDIEVAL EUROPE conferences at York and at Brugge.

For sheer practical reasons, however, a number of contributions had to be isolated from the others and organised according to some of the issues discussed at Brugge. Together with the fact that not all papers presented during the conference were the subject of a text to be included in the pre-prints, this explains why the general structure and the contents of the present volume do not conform exactly to the programme of the conference. It has been organized keeping in mind both the complexity of the subject and the general lines of the structure of section 03 of the conference. This means that the contributions in the present volume have more or less been grouped according to the following topics:

- Most of the papers have been grouped in a first section on 'Commodities and artefactual indices of

contact' and ordered according to two sub-themes: a first series of papers consists of more general regional or sub-regional approaches, while a number of specific classes of commodities are discussed in a second sub-section on specific commodities. The latter are organized according to the type of commodity concerned: ceramics, glass, stone, fish and salt.

- A separate sub-section concerns the means of exchange and includes Ingrid Gustin's paper on coins in Viking Age Birka, Sweden.

- In view of the importance of trade in the emergence and spatial development of towns as well as because of its impact in terms of specific types of urban infrastructure and urban buildings, a number of papers grouped under the heading 'Trade, towns and urban infrastructure'.

Of necessity, the papers are rather short and the volume of course does not do total justice to the many excavations and the wealth of other types of research work where trade and exchange constitute basic issues or are of direct or indirect importance. Nor does it provide a complete overview of the results attained and knowledge acquired. Nevertheless, the 20-odd papers included in the present volume provide a good idea of the potential of this particular field of research, emphasizing at the same time the complexity of the subject. This is even more true when the volume is considered within the context of the other volumes in the present series and when the reader takes into account that trade and exchange are also very much present – directly or indirectly – in these other volumes. This in itself again emphasizes the one of the basic points of the philosophy behind the MEDIEVAL EUROPE conferences.

Frans Verhaeghe & Guy De Boe

Anciennes et nouvelles méthodes dans l'archéologie des échanges et du commerce

Importance de l'archéologie du commerce

Tenter d'établir l'importance d'un secteur de la recherche archéologique par rapport à un autre n'a aucun sens; nous devons naturellement prêter une attention égale à chaque domaine. En effet, il est normal que dans un système complexe, ainsi que peut être défini le passé d'une société, tout facteur permettant d'expliquer la vie quotidienne et les événements, pèse sur l'ensemble. Ce poids est plus ou moins important suivant les situations. L'archéologue ne peut l'évaluer *a priori*, et souvent même *a posteriori*, s'il n'est pas certain de connaître suffisamment tous les autres facteurs. Aussi chaque facteur doit-il être analysé comme l'un des éléments du système global.

Le domaine des échanges et du commerce du matériel est sans doute l'un des aspects susceptible d'intéresser le plus l'archéologue, puisqu'il brosse un cadre privilégié et fort précis des productions des objets et de leur consommation. Cependant, ce contexte peut être étudié de plusieurs façons et selon les catégories d'objets, souvent différents entre eux.

L'importance générale de ce secteur de l'archéologie naît du rôle tenu de tout temps par les échanges et les rapports commerciaux: dans la diffusion de la culture, non seulement artistique et technique, mais aussi civile et religieuse; dans une meilleure connaissance du monde, des milieux et des ressources naturelles; dans l'instauration de rapports politico-économiques élargis et durables. Il semblerait, par exemple, que les artisans se soient moins intéressés aux différents types de pouvoir socio-politique et que les commerçants aient été plus respectueux des traditions et des différentes cultures, en raison de la connaissance directe qu'ils en avaient et de façon à mieux cohabiter avec les sociétés qui les avaient produites.

Etat de la question

Dans la majorité des cas, le point de départ de l'archéologie des échanges et du commerce est lié à la constatation ou à la vérification d'un transfert

d'objets, – devenus pièces archéologiques – , d'un territoire à un autre, ou d'un groupe social à un autre. Ces constatations et ces contrôles peuvent être effectués selon des méthodes et avec des instruments différents qui ont été développés au fur et à mesure, ainsi que nous l'évoquerons.

Les témoignages indiquant un échange doivent être eux-aussi regroupés suivant leur nature, donc selon leur signification fonctionnelle, et selon les méthodes employées pour leur étude: denrées alimentaires, matériaux de construction, matières premières ou partiellement travaillées destinées aux manufactures, outils de travail, produits manufacturés prêts à l'emploi. Ces derniers éléments sont plus fréquemment étudiés par la recherche, puisque les déchets des centres habités sont les plus abondants et les mieux connus de l'archéologue.

En s'appuyant sur les vestiges archéologiques, une autre approche permet d'observer et d'étudier les échanges et le commerce. Elle consiste à s'intéresser à l'équipement et aux moyens physiques qui ont permis le trafic ou la consommation de ces objets. Dans ce cadre de recherche, des témoignages immobiliers peuvent être pris en compte, ainsi les ruines des ouvrages routiers ou portuaires, des entrepôts et des édifices douaniers. Les témoignages "mobiles" les plus intéressants sont constitués par les restes des moyens de transport terrestres et flottants, les récipients pour le transport, les emballages, comme les cachets marchands, et d'autres produits manufacturés liés plus particulièrement au commerce, comme les poids, les mesures et les monnaies. Cependant ces méthodes de recherche suscitent des problèmes; nous prendrons d'ailleurs en considération leur limites par la suite.

Dans ce domaine de l'archéologie, une autre méthode d'analyse offre un champ d'information plus ample. Elle consiste à comparer plusieurs données archéologiques entre elles et à les confronter, si possible, aux sources littéraires. Par exemple, l'analyse et la comparaison de certaines données quantitatives permettent de cerner des concepts économiques et politico-administratifs du commerce. Ainsi la présence d'un objet étranger introduit comme don ou com-

me souvenir, n'a pas la même signification qu'une importation massive de produits manufacturés: il touche les coutumes de plusieurs couches sociales. Cependant on ne peut exclure que le don d'un objet précieux n'ait pas servi de propagande commerciale.

L'approche économique peut aussi concerner l'effet produit par l'échange ou le commerce sur la qualité de vie de celui qui le pratiquait, mais aussi de celui qui produisait la marchandise à exporter, lorsqu'il s'agissait de groupes sociaux distincts. Des échanges ayant pour but la simple survie ont toujours eu lieu. De même certaines activités commerciales ont créé les plus grandes concentrations de richesse dont les vestiges sont encore visible, grâce à l'archéologie du bâti: non seulement les lieux où résidaient les marchands, mais aussi le long des voies parcourues pour ces trafics.

Plus on tente d'expliquer les causes complexes de ces phénomènes, plus les données archéologiques s'avèrent insuffisantes. Evidemment, les témoignages archéologiques des activités d'échange et de commerce ne constituent pas à eux seuls une véritable hypothèse historique. Aussi, en s'appuyant sur différents aspects du contexte étudié, on s'essaie à reconstruire les situations, de manière à comprendre quels ont été les choix effectués.

Cadre général des recherches

1. Jusqu'à aujourd'hui, la plupart des recherches archéologiques traitant des échanges ou du commerce, se sont toujours fondées sur la présence, dans les contextes archéologiques, d'objets provenant d'autres régions ou d'autres cultures. Cette affirmation est confirmée tout particulièrement pour ce qui concerne le matériel céramique. La raison est claire, mais peut-être vaut-il mieux la répéter, puisqu'elle dérive en réalité de plusieurs causes qui révèlent l'insuffisance d'études des autres indices commerciaux.

En premier lieu, dans tous les emplacements abandonnés ou ayant survécu, urbains ou de campagne, les habitations sont les plus nombreuses, même lorsqu'il s'agit de sites de productions spécialisées ou religieux, – si ce n'est dans les églises et dans les cimetières, où l'on trouve du matériel funéraire. Aussi est-il difficile d'exécuter des fouilles archéologiques sans porter attention aux concentrations formées, de façons différentes, dans le temps, par les ordures domestiques. Après un long séjour dans des terrains normaux, ces déchets ne sont plus constitués que par des objets cassés, inutilisables, ni même recyclables (comme le verre et les métaux) et résistants aux agents de dégradation présents dans le sol, comme le sont précisément les céramiques.

Deuxièmement, n'importe quel objet découvert dans les déchets des aires de consommation peut-être identifié comme n'étant pas un produit local et provenant d'une activité d'échange ou de commerce, s'il possède les caractéristiques intrinsèques qui permettent d'en retrouver l'aire de production. Lorsqu'il s'agit de matériel manufacturé, les éléments de reconnaissance relèvent de deux types d'analyse: l'étude des matières premières et des techniques de production, et celle, formelle, qui distingue la forme proprement dite, les dimensions, les motifs décoratifs; dans de rares cas, il existe des marques de fabrique.

En ce qui concerne le matériel céramique, puisque son étude se fonde sur les comparaisons chronotypologiques, il faut partir des caractéristiques les plus évidentes, donc celles formelles, de manière à établir la provenance. Cette méthode est encore valable à condition de l'employer avec beaucoup de prudence et d'expérience. Les dangers de ce type d'étude découlent d'éventuelles influences culturelles, ou de l'existence de véritables imitations qui ont pu être réalisées à chaque époque et dans tout territoire où un objet était fort employé. Mais les formes et les décorations, sans contact direct avec le lieu de fabrication d'origine, révèlent des techniques d'exécution qu'il n'est pas possible d'imiter parfaitement à distance, à la différence des motifs représentés. Elles permettent donc le constat de distinctions précises. Dans quelques cas, lorsque le rendu des techniques ne pouvait être imité, les potiers ont été "transférés", de façon à reproduire les mêmes récipients que ceux qu'ils créaient dans leur pays d'origine. Dès lors, quelques différences naturalistes dans les matériaux choisis subsistent et le style peut se modifier au contact des influences de la culture locale. Quand les différences stylistiques sont évidentes, elles ne posent aucun problème pour l'analyse. Au contraire, lorsqu'il n'y a pas de variation dans le style, le doute subsiste toujours qu'il puisse s'agir d'une production par des potiers "transférés" ou des imitations parfaites.

Depuis trente ans environs, on s'intéresse de plus en plus aux aires de provenance du matériel céramique, en s'appuyant sur les études archéométriques des matières premières, sur les analyses chimiques, minérales, et plus particulièrement pétrographiques. Ces recherches sont possibles car le commerce de la terre se limitait à des types de terre spéciaux – comme le kaolin –, ou à des régions isolées où l'argile manque, ce qui est plutôt plus rare. La précision de ces données analytiques est garantie par le type d'instruments employés pour ces études, qui sont ceux des sciences naturelles. Cependant la caractérisation des problèmes à analyser, le choix des échantillons et surtout l'interprétation archéologique

des résultats scientifiques font de l'archéométrie une nouvelle source d'information pour l'archéologie. En effet, si les nombreuses recherches effectuées démontrent que les indications chimiques ou minéralogiques sur la provenance ne sont pas toujours univoques, elles sont cependant fort utiles pour la confrontation avec les données archéologiques.

Étant donné que le matériel céramique est le plus abondant et le mieux étudié, il est également très utile de savoir quelles céramiques étaient commercialisées au niveaux régional ou général, et en quelle quantité. Cependant les résultats ne pourraient être employés comme indices pour toutes les activités commerciales. L'étude des autres produits manufacturés présents quelquefois dans les déchets domestiques ne permet pas toujours de distinguer avec précision les aires de production. Seules les pierres ollaires ont fait l'objet d'analyses archéométriques sur la provenance. En ce qui concerne les objets en verre et en métal, le chercheur doit se contenter des études des formes et des styles, lorsqu'ils sont suffisamment caractéristiques.

Même si la recherche était étendue à tous les produits manufacturés employés, non périssables dans le sol, nous n'aurions toujours à faire qu'à quelques petits secteurs du commerce médiéval, par rapport à ceux connus par les sources littéraires. Pour certaines classes sociales, les produits les plus importants ont été les objets en peau et surtout les tissus, sans oublier l'orfèvrerie et certaines armes de valeur. Cependant ce genre de matériel ne finissait pas dans les déchets domestiques, mais seulement, dans quelques cas, dans les sépultures.

2. Dans les habitations, outre le matériel d'usage quotidien, on consommait aussi des produits alimentaires. Lorsqu'ils ont survécu à la dégradation, leurs restes indiquent la nature des espèces végétales et animales consommées. Les espèces sauvages reflètent les milieux naturels ou des éco-systèmes plus ou moins précis. Mais à l'intérieur d'une même espèce, on ne distingue pas les bêtes provenant de milieux différents, même distants entre eux. Pour l'instant, au vu des restes archéologiques, il est presque impossible de reconnaître une espèce domestique cultivée ou élevée sur place, de la même espèce cultivée ou élevée dans d'autres régions.

3. En ce qui concerne les matériaux de construction, les importations étaient rares. Elles provenaient de zones assez proches, en raison des difficultés et du coût du transport par rapport au volume et au poids nécessaires, si ce n'est pour les emplacements qui se trouvaient le long d'une voie d'eau. Seuls des matériaux précieux étaient quelquefois importés d'aires

lointaines, ainsi le marbre et les carreaux décorés. Les analyses archéométriques de ces produits autorisent à préciser les aires de production. Il en va de même dans le cas de la céramique décorative, grâce aux études typologiques. La présence de marbre peut poser problème car il faut considérer que, durant le moyen-âge, il provenait généralement de la spoliation de monuments antiques, plutôt que des carrières. Ces études entrent en ligne de compte plus particulièrement dans l'archéologie du bâti qui est devenu un secteur intéressant de l'archéologie médiévale. Dans ce domaine, depuis vingt ans, on étudie toutes les transformations subies dans les constructions du moyen-âge qui nous sont parvenues, toutes les méthodes de construction, leur organisation technique et économique.

4. Les productions médiévales les plus importantes provenaient de l'agriculture et de l'élevage. Les manufactures étaient toujours de petites dimensions, souvent dispersés au milieu des centres habités, ou bien concentrés dans certaines zones, du fait des nécessités en matière première et surtout en sources d'énergie thermique ou mécanique (bois ou cours d'eau). Pour les productions qui exigeaient de grandes quantités de matière première comme pour les briques, la poterie et la chaux, les établissements étaient construits à proximité de la source de celle-ci. Mais dans le cas de productions moins volumineuses, ainsi dans la métallurgie et la verrerie, la matière première pouvait provenir de loin, en volumes et emballages conditionnés pour le commerce. Les minéraux de fer ou de cuivre granulés, les sables quartzifères nettoyés ou les pierres en silex se trouvent exclusivement dans ces emplacements, et les analyses archéométriques permettent souvent de découvrir les mines et les carrières d'origine. Lorsque les "arts du feu" s'exerçaient dans les centres habités, ils impliquaient un commerce du bois ou du charbon de bois, nécessaires à cette occupation et dont les restes se découvrent dans les fouilles. Certains établissements livraient seulement des demi-produits comme les frites de verre, les barres de fer ou les saumons de cuivre, aux dimensions précises voulues par le marché. Ces objets pouvaient même être commercialisés à distance, de manière à toucher les centres de travail artisanal.

5. Depuis peu, la recherche archéologique s'intéresse aussi à l'étude des structures et des instruments marchands. Mais elle est moins développée que celle qui s'oriente sur les produits commerciaux employés dans les sites résidentiels. L'une des raisons est, comme nous l'avons déjà exposé, le nombre plus réduit de telles structures et leur concentration aux endroits

stratégiques, le long des grandes voies de communication.

Pour ces produits qui passaient d'un territoire voisin à un autre, ou de la campagne à la ville, il est difficile, voire même impossible, de saisir s'ils étaient l'objet d'échanges ou de commerce. De plus, ils ont rarement laissé des traces archéologiques de leur transport. Des éléments qui indiquent un commerce au détail, tels les poids et les mesures, sont présents dans tous les centres habités, à partir d'un certain nombre d'individus. De même, des transports par bateaux, par charrettes ou à dos d'âne s'effectuaient tant en ville que dans les campagnes, et également pour des activités autres que marchandes.

Certains éléments nous offrent pourtant des indications plus précises, ainsi la circulation de monnaies étrangères, la découverte de sceaux propres aux balles marchandes, la présence d'insectes caractéristiques d'autres régions arrivés avec les stocks importés, les récipients non périssables pour le transport de denrées, comme ceux en céramique, qui permettent de découvrir les aires de production grâce aux analyses archéométriques.

Les recherches archéologiques conduites aux points névralgiques des grandes voies de communication mettent au jour, en plus des éléments cités, les édifices publics ou privés où se déroulaient les principales opérations physiques, fiscales et de contrôle, liées au transport des marchandises de tout ordre. Abris pour les balances publiques et les opérations douanières, à proximité des portes, habitations avec entrepôts et grandes écuries pour les animaux employés pour les transports, ce sont des structures qui existaient dans tous les ports où l'activité marchande était développée, comme dans les grandes villes et dans les petits centres urbains frontaliers ou proches des cols de montagne. Le long des voies terrestres, on ne retrouve pas de vestiges archéologiques des marchandises, alors que le long des routes maritimes, on découvre, outre les quais, des épaves contenant encore leurs chargements, même si celles qui datent du moyen-âge ne sont pas nombreuses.

Suggestions pour la méthodologie

Les données sur les échanges et le commerce qui proviennent des fouilles de n'importe quel établissement, nous sont certainement utiles, au point qu'il faudrait même tenter d'augmenter ces recherches. Ce serait cependant une erreur de croire que la somme de ces éléments puisse constituer une véritable archéologie du commerce et des échanges. Ces informations doivent être utilisées dans un premier temps pour cerner deux types de problèmes: a) ceux concernant

les systèmes commerciaux pratiqués par les sociétés et que l'on étudie; b) ceux que rencontre actuellement l'archéologue qui tente de comprendre comment ces problèmes ont été résolus par le passé. Des hypothèses de travail et des programmes de recherches pourront être développés afin de mettre en évidence quelles sont les informations archéologiques utiles pour étayer ou invalider ces hypothèses.

Par exemple, très souvent, les chercheurs qui s'intéressent à la céramique médiévale requièrent des analyses archéométriques sur la provenance, seulement pour vérifier la classification de leurs trouvailles et non de manière à conduire une véritable recherche sur ce que pourrait être la signification d'une découverte, à un emplacement donné, de peu ou de nombreux fragments de céramique importée d'un autre pays. De plus, pour développer l'archéologie du commerce, il faut sortir du contexte étroit du simple établissement singulier, qu'il soit petit ou grand, pour établir des hypothèses sur les voies commerciales, sur leurs raisons d'être et, enfin, chercher d'autres preuves archéologiques.

Enfin, l'étude des routes doit intégrer les données des recherches en surface, de l'archéologie du bâti et des fouilles en des lieux choisis, où la présence continue de marchands, de transporteurs et de douaniers peut avoir laissé des traces, non seulement des produits commercialisés – plus aisés à découvrir dans les zones de consommation –, mais aussi des vestiges mobiliers spécifiques, liés à leurs activités.

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Orientation bibliographiques

Cette bibliographie concernant les échanges et le commerce ne prétend certainement pas être exhaustive, vu l'ampleur du thème. Elle peut toutefois servir de point de départ à une réflexion sur l'état actuel de la recherche. Aussi ne citerons-nous que les ouvrages significatifs et en délaisserons-nous beaucoup d'autres, souvent en raison des problèmes de consultation et de traduction qu'ils posent. De surcroît, nous ne signalerons que les études relatives au commerce, fondées sur des données matérielles et ne prenons pas en compte les nombreux travaux de caractère historique qui s'appuient sur les sources littéraires.

Enrichi des méthodes archéologiques, l'étude du commerce s'est développée de façon différente, selon les types de produits manufacturés analysés. On distingue, en particulier, deux grandes catégories: celle des trouvailles "mobiles", le plus souvent découvertes lors de fouilles, attestant un commerce, et celle des vestiges "immobiliers", ouvrages routiers ou portuaires, conservés en élévation, qui signalent une viabilité. Au fur et à mesure, la recherche sur la production et la distribution des biens "mobiles" s'est accrue et s'est centrée sur des types de matériel différent: des récipients en céramique à ceux en pierre ollaire, des monnaies aux matériaux de construction. Pour ce qui concerne la céramique, les analyses se sont intéressées à des productions de plus en plus spécifiques. On a d'ailleurs effectué des synthèses non seulement au plan régional, mais aussi international. Il existe aussi des études historiques traitant du développement des marchés et de la distribution des matières premières et des produits manufacturés: des aires d'origine des matériaux, des zones de production jusqu'aux lieux où les produits étaient utilisés. De même, on travaille sur une série d'objets relevant du commerce au détail: balances, poids, cachets. Cependant, contrairement au monde romain, peu de synthèses ont été proposées à partir des données archéologiques pour ce qui concerne le commerce en Europe et en Méditerranée.

Dans le cadre de l'*archéologie du territoire* et de l'*archéologie de l'architecture*, l'étude des vestiges situés le long des routes maritimes et des réseaux routiers a permis d'élaborer une nouvelle méthode de travail, intitulée *archéologie et architecture des grandes voies de communication*.. Pour l'instant, dans cette nouvelle discipline, les travaux demeurent peu nombreux et ils ne sont consacrés presque exclusivement qu'à la Ligurie (Italie) et à la chaîne des Alpes, champ de recherche de l'ISCUM de Gênes. Cet institut est d'ailleurs le lieu de naissance de ces nouvelles méthodes de recherche.

De nombreux travaux traitent de la viabilité et de la navigation, du point de vue historique, en se référant à des documents, des compte-rendus de voyageurs et de pèlerins. Certaines voies font plus souvent l'objet d'étude, comme la Francigène et actuellement, – en raison du Jubilé de deux mille ans –, les principaux itinéraires de pèlerinage. D'ailleurs, des centres d'études s'y intéressent et il existe des recueils bibliographiques très exhaustifs à ce sujet. Cependant, nous ne présenterons pas non plus dans ce contexte les études archéologiques, relatives aux édifices religieux du réseau routier, tels les hôpitaux, qui ne nous paraissent pas faire partie du sujet.

Durant ces dernières années, des colloques se sont tenus lors desquels historiens, archéologues et archi-

tectes ont réfléchi sur le thème de la viabilité au moyen-âge. Nombreux sont aussi les travaux qui s'intéressent aux tronçons de routes, découverts de façon sporadique, surtout dans les aires urbaines, durant des fouilles, bien qu'il manque souvent une interprétation des données plus générales sur la viabilité. On n'a pas encore prêté une attention constante, comme c'est en revanche le cas pour l'époque romaine, aux ponts et autres infrastructures routières.

Pour toute la Méditerranée, les recherches archéologiques relatifs aux ports du moyen-âge ne sont que peu étendues. Cependant, les exemples étudiés, comme le port de Gênes, l'ont été de manière exhaustive. Dans l'Europe du Nord, les études sont plus fréquentes et, par ailleurs, il existe sur ce sujet des colloques périodiques. Au contraire, on traite généralement assez peu des bourgs marchands et des villes portuaires: nous citerons à ce propos les cas de Lubeck et de Gênes.

Au sujet des moyens de transport terrestre, on peut utiliser les différentes études traitant de l'époque romaine comme point de départ pour le moyen-âge. Mais il existe plusieurs travaux sur le système privilégié de circulation des personnes et des marchandises par transport sur animaux de somme, à cette époque.

Nous avons en outre remarqué que l'archéologie sous-marine s'est fort développée durant ces dix dernières années. On travaille de plus en plus sur ces thèmes dans les revues ou les rubriques spécialisées, surtout en ce qui concerne les moyens de transport flottants, très utilisés surtout pour les marchandises les plus encombrantes.

Nous présentons les différentes contributions spécifiques, en les subdivisant par types de produits manufacturés et par ordre chronologique, selon leur date de parution.

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Some Considerations Regarding Byzantine Influences in the East of the Carpathians in the 10th-13th Centuries

The investigation of economic, political and cultural relations between different regions of Eastern Europe (including those in the Carpathian-Dniester area) and the Byzantine Empire during the Middle Ages constitutes one of the most pressing problems of historical research.

In spite of the repeated forays of some nomad populations from the East, who in the 10th-13th centuries destabilized for certain periods the natural development of socio-economical and political life in the region which is the forest-steppe zone of the East-Carpathian area, the archaeological investigations confirm the existence of a more or of less dense network of settlements and communities, the main occupations of which were agriculture and stock breeding.

The archaeological investigations over the past five decades allow us to determine the economical level of this population and its relations with the neighbouring populations and regions. Ethnological and sociological studies also made it possible to reconstruct the socio-political forms of the organization of this population.

By the end of the first millennium, the Romanic population in the regions which we have been investigating, was organized in rural communities. It formed a political nucleus, which looked like a union of communities, with some of the general characteristics known among those of the old Germans and Slavs (Iorga 1929, 2; Zaharia 1981, 543-553; Spinei 1994, 128-131). And it reached the level of some pre-state and state formations in the first centuries of the second millennium.

Although the debate has been opened, the chosen theme for study is far from exhausted. At the same time, the archaeological investigations relating to the East-Carpathian population offer new and various documentation concerning the contacts with and influence of the Byzantine Empire, and of different economic centres and states in Central and Western Europe.

The chronological limits of this study range from the period at the beginning of the 10th century, when

the penetration of nomads into this territory was intensified, to the 13th century when these regions were devastated by the Mongols. These events directly influenced the fate of the peoples of Europe as well as the economic, demographic, cultural and political situation of the affected regions.

After the Hun invasions of 375-376, the active and stable economic and cultural interrelations between the population, inhabiting the region to the North and North-west of the Black Sea on the one hand, and the Roman Empire on the other, were less intensive. The relations with economical centres in Asia Minor and Western Europe were temporarily interrupted.

In spite of the unstable political situation, Europe developed not in isolation, but rather within the context of more or less active contacts between medieval peoples and states. The influence of economic, political and cultural international relations were determined both by the economic and socio-political level of some of the separate regions from Eastern Europe and by the politico-economic situation in major centres in Western and Central Europe, particularly by those in the Byzantine Empire. These circumstances make it impossible to investigate the economic relations and cultural confrontation without an understanding of the socio-political situation in the above-mentioned regions.

The period of relative political calm in the 8th-9th centuries, when the region was partially protected from attack by some migrating groups, had favourable consequences for the economy of the region. The recent investigations make it possible to get an idea of the important demographical changes which affected the local communities of this period. In the Carpathian-Dniester region, nearly one thousand archaeological sites of the 8th-10th century are known.

The trade routes which passed through the Eastern-Carpathian area, following the major rivers, were very important for the growth of the economic relations between the communities. The trade routes offered to the natives the possibility to establish contacts with different regions in Europe with a view to

market their surplus of products and to import things they needed.

The restoration of the border of the Byzantine Empire along Lower Danube at the end of the 10th century was the reason why the contacts were intensified between the Balkan Peninsula, Central and Western Europe and the territories located to the East of the Carpathians.

The intensification of economic life recorded in the regions to East Carpathians during the 8th-9th centuries manifested itself through economic change materialized through the appearance of highly efficient technologies. This intensification influenced the relations with the Byzantine Empire and its impact was beneficial for the development of economic relations.

In the first millennium and in the first centuries of the second millennium and more particularly because of their geographical position, the East Carpathian territories constituted a gateway and path of penetration for many migrations coming from the East. These migrants were attracted by the prosperity of the Byzantine Empire.

The territories situated north of the Lower Danube attracted the Greeks Emperors because of two essential reasons: first as territories which could serve as a buffer zone against penetration by nomads, and secondly, as territories with certain economic resources useful to the Empire.

In turn, the Romanic communities north of the Lower Danube were striving to maintain the economic relations with the Byzantine Empire, whence better quality goods or goods which were not produced locally, penetrated this territory (Fig. 1).

In this respect, archaeological investigations provide us with a number of different solid testimonies related to the 10th-13th centuries. Ceramic amphorae and other forms of thin-walled pottery turned on a quick wheel, as well as varnished ceramics occur in large numbers and are found as frequently as in the previous period. In Moldova, ceramics were imported from Byzantine centres on the Danube as well as from centres situated on the northern Black Sea coast. Fragments or complete vessels have been discovered in Hansca, Molesti, Lucaseuca, Poharniceni-Petruha, Echimaui, Branesti, Durlesti-Valea Babei, Cigărleni and elsewhere (Fig. 3, 16-17).

An example illustrates this. At Hansca, the most completely investigated settlement dating from the first century of the second millennium and located in the centre of Moldova, almost every archaeological complex yielded Byzantine imports. According to some calculations, it could be established that fragments of Byzantine amphorae were present in 70 % of the dwellings and their premises. As compared to

local ceramics, their volume in each complex was not that large, making up only 0.2-3.4 % of the total, but their omnipresence is very convincing (Postiké 1988, 15; 1994, 104).

Among the imported products, we can also mention the glass vessels found in the necropoles and settlements at Branesti, Danceni and Hansca, situated in the central part of Moldova, as well as in the cultural strata at Rudi and Mereseuca in the northern part of the country (Tentiuc 1996, 132). There were also glass beads and bracelets which penetrated into the region we are studying, coming in from the centres along the Lower Danube or from the Byzantine cities and maybe from some of the Byzantine centres in Crimea. These objects were discovered mainly in the graves in the necropoles at Hansca and Branesti, but they also occur in the settlements.

Coins are particularly representative and useful for investigating the economic relations between the Romanic population and the Byzantine Empire (Fig. 2, 1-6). Chronologically bounded by Arabian coins of the early 10th century discovered at Alcedar and Echimaui, and by the western European ones of the early 13th century discovered at Hotin, the Byzantine coins had an older tradition and a longer and intensive circulation in areas populated by Romanic communities to the East of the Carpathians. The frequent finds of Byzantine coins in the East-Carpathian area, as well as all the other categories of imported objects – as mentioned before – depended on both the economic and political situation, and the internal socio-economic and political developments of the Byzantine Empire.

Thus, for example, the archaeological finds from settlements of the 8th-9th centuries suggest this region to have been relatively prosperous, although Byzantine coins are present only sporadically and in insignificant quantities. North of the Danube, an increasing circulation of coins is observed only in the early 10th century together with the re-establishment of Byzantine Empire northern border along the Danube, during the reign of Ioan Tzimiskes the First and Vasile the Second. For the 10th century, the coins most frequently found are bronze ones and they mostly are isolated finds; this suggests the existence of some operations of exchange using small Byzantine coins with little intrinsic value.

At the end of the 10th and during the 11th century, the coins used most often are the so-called anonymous *folles* minted at Constantinople. The lack of precision characteristic for the chronology of these coins makes it difficult to try and carry out a comparative analysis of the circulation of the coins for each of the *folles*' minters. From now on we will keep to the well-known coin classifications.

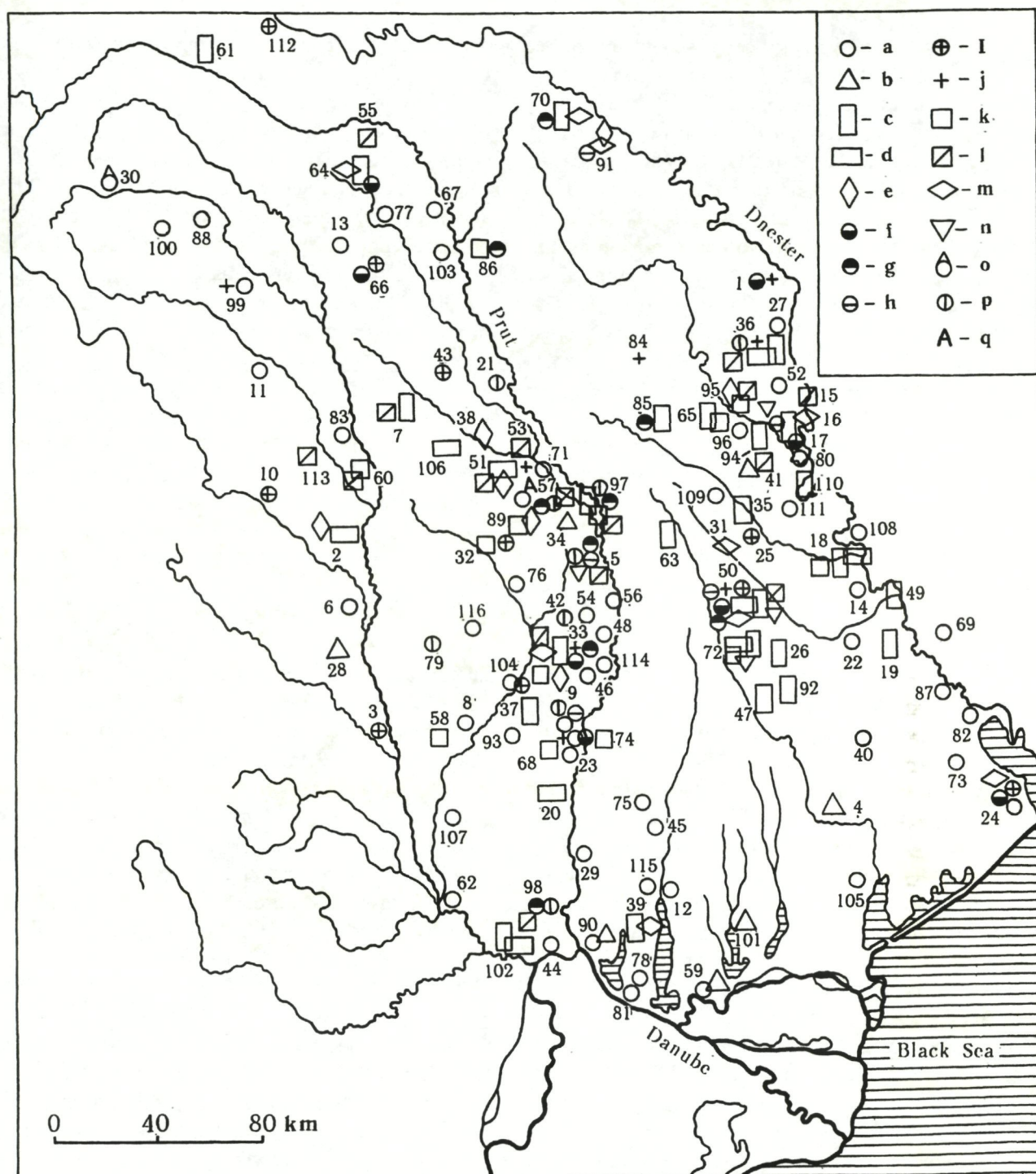


Fig. 1. - The Byzantine imports in the East-Carpathian area in the 10th-13th centuries:

a: isolated coins; b: coins from hoards; c: amphorae; d: pottery; e: buckles; f: glass bracelets; d: metal bracelets; h: beads; i: pectoral double crosses (relics); j: small crosses; k: plates; l: earrings; m: glass vessels; n: buttons; o: censer; p: rings; q: ampulia.

1: Alcedar; 2: Aldesti; 3: Adjutul Vechi; 4: Arciz; 5: Arsura; 6: Bacau; 7: Baiceni; 8: Birlad; 9: Birlalesti; 10: Bitca Doamnei; 11: Bogdanesti; 12: Bolgrad; 13: Botosani; 14: Bender (=Tighina); 15: Branesti; 16: Branesti X; 17: Branesti XIII; 18: Calfa; 19: Caplani; 20: Cavadinesti; 21: Calarasi; 22: Causeni; 23: Cîrja; 24: Cetatea Alba (=Belgorod-Dnestrovskij); 25: Chisinau; 26: Cigirleni; 27: Cinisauti; 28: Cleja; 29: Colibasi; 30: Cosna-Floreni; 31: Danceni; 32: Danesti; 33: Dodesti; 34: Dolhesti; 35: Durlesti-Valea Babei; 36: Echimausti; 37: Epureni; 38: Erbiceni; 39: Etulia; 40: Faraonovka; 41: Fauresti; 42: Fedesti; 43: Focuri; 44: Galati; 45: Gavanoasa; 46: Giurcani; 47: Gradiste; 48: Grumezoaia; 49: Gura Bicului; 50: Hansca; 51: Hlincea; 52: Holercani; 53: Holboca; 54: Horga; 55: Horodistea; 56: Husi; 57: Iasi; 58: Ivesti; 59: Izmail; 60: Izvoare-Bahna; 61: Lencauti-Cernauti; 62: Liesti; 63: Loganesti; 64: Lozna; 65: Lucaseuca; 66: Lunca-"Biznoasa"; 67: Manoleasa; 68: Manastirea; 69: Merenesti; 70: Mereseuca; 71: Miroslava; 72: Molesti; 73: Mologa; 74: Murgeni; 75: Musaitu; 76: Negresti; 77: Nicolae Balcescu; 78: Novosel'skoe; 79: Oncesti; 80: Orheiul Vechi (=Trebujeni); 81: Orlovka (=Kartal); 82: Palanca; 83: Pascani; 84: Pepeni; 85: Poharniceni-Petruha; 86: Proscureni; 87: Purcari; 88: Radauti; 89: Raducaneni; 90: Reni; 91: Rudi; 92: Sagaidac; 93: Sarateni; 94: Scoc; 95: Seliste; 96: Sloboda-Hodorogea; 97: Spinoasa; 98: Stoicani; 99: Suceava; 100: Sucevita; 101: Suvorovo; 102: Sendreni; 103: Stefanesti; 104: Suletea; 105: Tatarbunari; 106: Tirgu-Frumos; 107: Tecuci; 108: Teia; 109: Truseni; 110: Ustia; 111: Vadul lui Voda; 112: Vasileu; 113: Valeni; 114: Vetrisoaia; 115: Vinogradovka; 116: Voinesti.

Following the typology proposed by Margaret Thomson the following types of *folles* were identified: coins of the A2 type, discovered at Bacau, Bogdanesti, Giurcani, Grumezoaia, Negresti, Nicolae Balcescu, Panciu, Pascani, Moldova (?) and two pieces from the Arciz deposit; coins of the B type discovered at Faraonovka, Izmail, Miroslava, Orlovka, Palanca, Sarateni, Sendreni, Reni, Moldova (?), including one coin kept at the History Museum and coming from Iasi; coins of the C type found at Bender, Galati, Orlovka (three pieces), Tatarbunar, Tecuci (two pieces) and Stefanesti (one piece); coins of the D type are known from Bolgrad (two coins), Cîrja, Galati, Horga, Merenesti, Mologa, Novosel'skoe, Trebujeni, Orlovka, Suletea, and Voinesti; one single coin of the E type was found at Orlovka. Two coins of the F type were discovered in Bolgrad and Ismail and only coin of the G type was found in Pascani deposit of the 10th-13th centuries (Spinei 1984, 77-83). Except for the anonymous coins mentioned above, many other bronze, silver or gold coins circulated in the Carpathian-Dniester territory (Fig. 3, 1-6).

The limited space available does not allow us to present a more detailed analysis of these categories of coins. We will limit ourselves to a general presentation, mentioning that so far 108 isolated coins were discovered; 86 of these, *i.e.* 79.63 %, are bronze and copper pieces. Less than 10 % (9.26 %) are silver coins and gold coins represent more than 10 % (11.11 %).

The statistical calculations show us that the number of coins evidently increased, particularly during the 11th century. For the 10th century – and particularly the first half of the 10th century – we are confronted with a very characteristic and frequent burying of deposits. A number of these deposits are dated from the end of the 10th century to the beginning of the 11th century: they are all related to the nomads penetrating this territory and warring with the Byzantine Empire.

As to the 11th century, there is practically no evidence for the burying of hoards. The large number of isolated 11th-century coins discovered is followed by a regression of their circulation. This becomes particularly characteristic towards the end of the century, when the majority of the coins were buried.

The decreasing number of Byzantine imports at the end of the 11th and in the early 12th century in the Carpathian-Dniester area is related to the massive penetration of this territory by the Cumanians (Diaconu 1978, 35-61; Dobroljubskij 1986, 54-61).

But in the course of the Cumanian period, the politico-military forces from Constantinople along the Danube gradually developed new dimensions, became more offensive, and re-established the borders and the equilibrium in region of the river estuary

(Diaconu 1976, 295). The Byzantine presence at the Istros river was dictated by political reasons as well as by economic needs. Being involved in a fight with the Cumanians, Constantinople counted on its friendship with Russia and on Russian support.

The good relations with the Russian principalities started in the time of Alexios the First and were continued until the reign of Andronic the First. At the beginning of the 12th century, the Russian princes Vladimir the Monomah and Svjatopolk organized victorious campaigns against the Cumanians, driving them back into the steppes.

The conflict of 1116, which is mentioned only by the Russian sources, was stopped by the engagement of Vladimir the Monomah granddaughter Dobrodea, Mstislav's daughter, to the son of King Alexios I. Vladimir the Monomah himself was the son of a Byzantine princess named Maria, the daughter of Constantine the IX the Monomah. Vladimir the Monomah's daughter Maritsa, in turn, was married to Leon, the son of Emperor Roman Diogene IV. In 1162, the Emperor Manuil I the Comnenes (1143-1180) gave the lands along Danube to the nephews of Vladimir the Monomah. These dynastic relations brought together the Russian and Byzantine Empires and removed the Cumanian danger.

It is worth mentioning that the Russian troops sent by Vladimir the Monomah to the Danube, led by his son Vjaceslav and by Toma Ratiborovic only reached the Dniester river, from where they had to return. The Russian chronicle '*The Stories of Former Years*' does not indicate the reasons why they did not reach the Danube. V. Tatischev believes that when he found out about the companies, Alexios sent a delegation to Kiev which was to intercept Vladimir's claims. This gesture was not in contradiction with the tradition of Byzantine diplomacy considering moreover that the Byzantine Empire wanted friendly relations with Russia. When Ioan became Emperor, these relations improved owing to his marriage to Mstislav's daughter (Tolocko 1987, 105). The fact that the Russian army was within easy reach of the Dniester (according to other sources: Dristra = Dorostol = Silistra) is very important. We believe that some authors are right when they say that in this period the territory to the North and South of the Danube mouth was held more or less firmly in Byzantine Empire hands (Diaconu 1976, 295).

Telling in this respect is the example of Ivan Rostislavic called the Berladnik who went 'to the Cumanians, and from there he went with them to the cities on the Danube'. It is clear that in order to reach the Danubian cities – whether they were situated on the right or the left bank of the river – Ivan had first to go to the Cumanians. The fact that the Cumanians

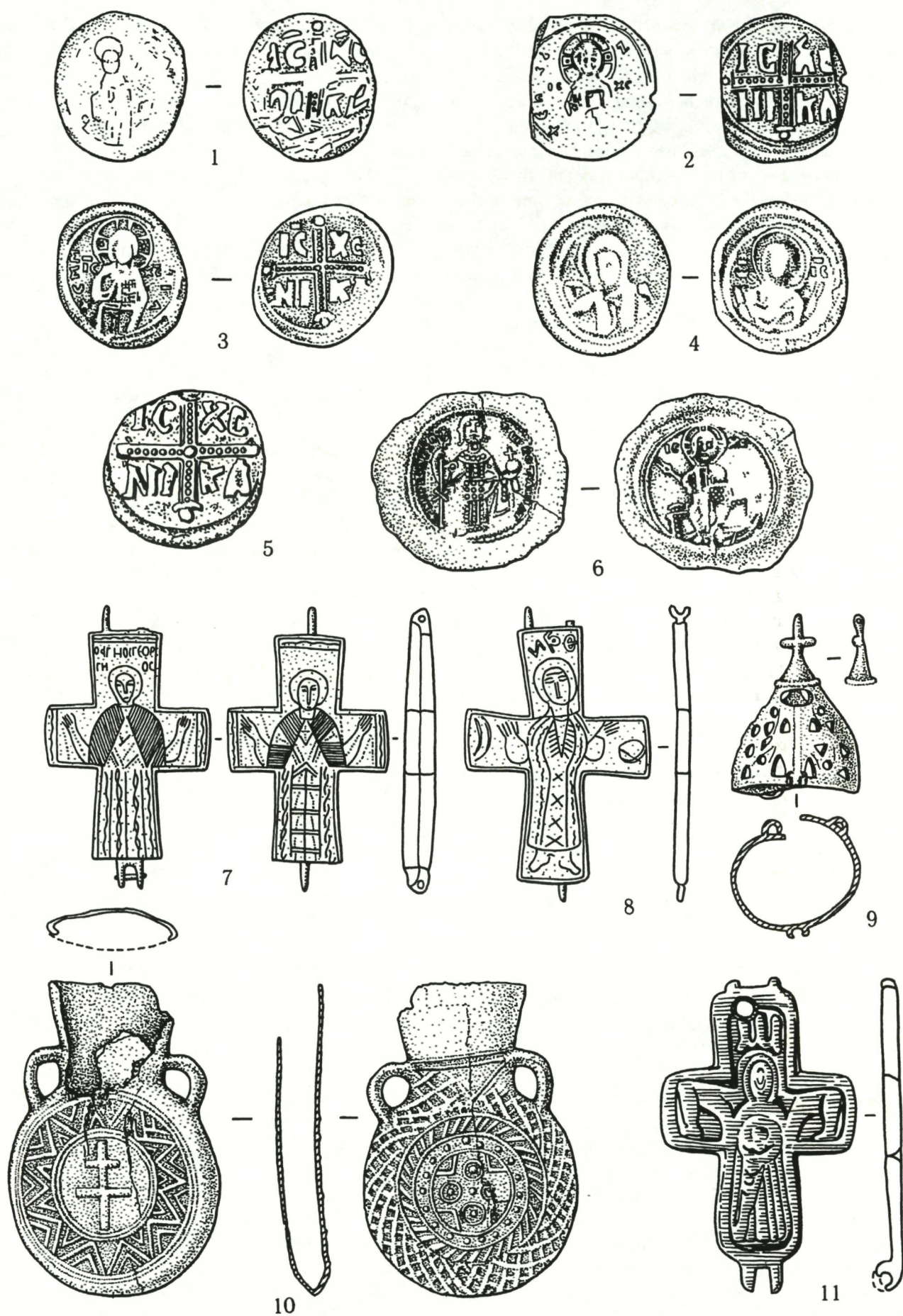


Fig. 2. - The Byzantine coins (1-6), pectoral double crosses (relics) (7-8, 11), censer (9) and ampulia (10). 2: from Stefanesti; 3-4: Pascani; 5: Tecuci; 7: Abjudul Vechi; 8: Banesti; 9: Cosna; 10: Iasi; 11: Hansca.

in the second half of the 12th century were placed near Dnieper can be deduced from Ipatievsk's chronicle, which states that in 'this winter, Svjatoslav with Rjurik have thought to send the black caps to the troops which were situated along the Dnieper. And they have conquered those troops and come back with honour and glory. At that moment the Cumans were on the Danube and not at home in their camps' (Ipat'evskaja letopis' 1959, 444).

Of great importance are also the worshipping objects of Byzantine type which have been discovered in this region. First of all, these include the pectoral double-crosses (relics) (Fig. 2: 7-8, 11; 3: 15) and small crosses (Fig. 3: 1-2, 5, 11) which arrived in this territory mostly during the 11th and 12th centuries. Simultaneously, these objects reflect the religious prestige of Constantinople. It seems that after the 10th century, under Byzantine influence, the small crosses also started to be produced by the native population.

Among the Byzantine worshipping objects, we can mention the double-crosses discovered at Adjudul Vechi, Bâta-Doamnei, Cetatea Alba, Danesti, Focuri, Hansca, Lunca-"Bâznoasa", Moldova (?), Suletea, Vasilev, and so on. The surface of these pieces is engraved or incrustated with niello ornament depicting different religious scenes (Spinei 1992, 155-160).

The buckles for books (Fig. 3: 9), discovered in some settlements of the central part of Moldova (I.H. 4i Oncu 1974, 140; Teodor 1984, 108), are a testimony of the Byzantine cultural and spiritual influence. These are made of bronze and the books belong among the worshipping objects which penetrated the North-Danubian and East-Carpathian areas together with Christian missionaries. According to historians, these books did not only circulate, but were also copied in Greek and Slavic in the North-Pontic zone during the first centuries of the second millennium (Vornicescu 1994, 98).

The investigations made it possible to discover rupestral cloisters and churches. The signs, cut into the walls of these rooms dug into the banks of the Raut and Dniester rivers, near Butuceni, Tipova, Saharna, Jabca, Bechir-Soroca, etc., indicate an early origin for some of the Christian communities in the central part of Moldova. The study of the materials associated with the earliest religious edifices indicate that the cloisters on the Dniester and Prut figure among Christian communities of the 8th-10th and 11th-13th centuries. Some were discovered in the circumponic regions: Krym, Caucasus, Dobrogea and the North-Bucovina.

The archaeological investigations allowed us to reconstruct the general features of the intensive relations between the Romanic population of the

East-Carpathian region and the Byzantine Empire. We may assume that the exchanges were also in kind. The natives from the Carpato-Dniester area offered to Byzantine merchants the products the latter needed, among them cereals, cheese, furs, leather, salt, honey and so on.

The objects discovered during the archaeological investigations show us that in spite of the fact that Byzantine law did not allow for the export of wine, oil and weapons, these products found a large market in the territories to the East of the Carpathians.

Apart from the economic and spiritual influences, the lasting contacts with the Byzantine Empire also had an impact on the Romanian language and on the local vocabulary, leading to the adoption of new words. The specialists point out words which reflect general economic activities such as to work, chip, surplus and others and also identify words which define products which were not typical for the East-Carpathian area, like lemon, pepper, silk, pearl, and so on. Also of Byzantine influence are words like dish, pan, cup, litre, wedding coronets and other.

Finally, we can mention that from the analysis of the Byzantine influence reflected in the material and spiritual culture of this population, we can deduce that the involvement of the Carpathian-Dniester area in the economical and political sphere of interest of the Byzantine Empire, the Catholic Occident, and the Russian states, led to the assimilation by the local communities of a large number of cultural elements and to the adaptation thereof to realities conforming to their psychic state and perceptions, which corresponded to their socio-economical and political level of development.

Particularly where economy, culture and spiritual life were concerned, the international and interstate relations influenced the autochthonous people throughout the Middle Ages. Even if the political situation was not always the most favourable one – being as we have seen earlier interrupted by the military actions on the part of the nomads and their invasions as well as those of the neighbouring states – the local Romanic population of the East-Carpathians nevertheless adopted incontestable values, which forever took root in their spiritual inheritance.

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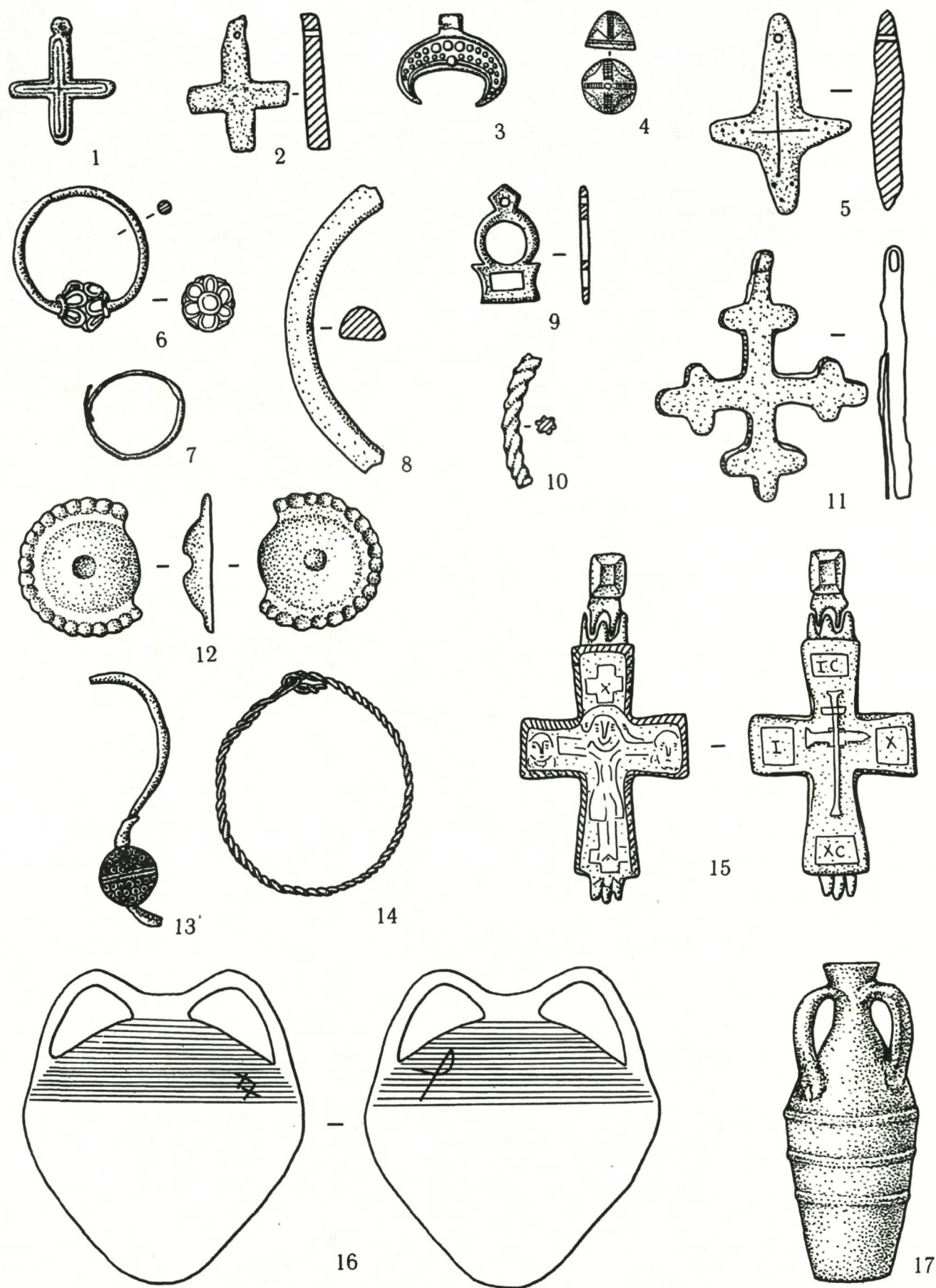


Fig. 3. - Byzantine import in the 10th-13th centuries from the Carpatian-Dniestr area.

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Trading Equipment in Old Russia (9th-11th century)

Trade was very important for the social and economic development of the territories that were included in the borders of Old Russia up to the middle of the 11th cent. The vast area from the Carpathian mountains in the west to the Upper Volga region in the east and from the region of Lake Ladoga in the north to the Middle Dnepr region in the south was inhabited by different Baltic, Finno-Ugrian and Slavonic tribes. To a considerable degree, their economy depended on the local conditions of the forest and forest-steppe zones. The northwestern and the north-eastern parts of the Old Russian territory were covered by forests, which had rich reserves of fur-bearing animals. Consequently fur trade was very important for the local economy.

The appearance of the cufic silver coins on this territory started in the 70s to 80s of the 8th century. This is evidence for the trade connections between the Arabic East that was interested in getting precious fur and Eastern Europe, but in the Ural region the first traces of these contacts appeared earlier - in the 6th century¹. The quantity of hoards with silver Arabic coins grew during the 9th century. These hoards are found to the southwest from the Ural region, in the region of the rivers Oka and Seym. In addition, 9th-century hoards were found in the western and the northwestern parts of Russia. In that period, these territories were settled or had been settled Slavonic tribes. In the 10th century, the area of the distribution of arabic coins expanded, including notably the Middle Dnepr region.

According to the specialists, the spread of arabic coins in the territories of Eastern Europe was first and foremost related to the need for the local population to get silver coins and raw silver. On their side, the Arabic merchants did their best to get the products of the hunting and gathering operations². Traditionally, these products (such as furs, bees wax or honey) are

considered to be the main types of exported goods from Eastern Europe while textiles and spices are considered to be the main import goods. But it is difficult to detect and document these two kinds of products through archaeology, and sometimes they left no trace whatsoever. Apart from the imported and exported goods themselves, however, the metal trading equipment (such as, particularly, scales and weights) are archaeological evidence for these commercial relations.

Scales and weights were found in 45 sites in the Old Russian territory. These sites include settlements, graves and hoards. Sometimes, both types of objects are found together as a set.

The distribution map of these finds shows clearly that most of these sites are situated in the forest zones and near or along the river routes used for trading.

The beginning of the growing number of scales and weights is dated to the middle of the 10th century, when the frequency of chopped silver coins in local coin circulation increased sharply³. But this kind of trade equipment also appeared in Eastern Europe much earlier – in the 9th century⁴.

The earliest finds of weights come from the northwestern part of Old Russia. Two weights from Old Ladoga are dated to the second half of the 8th to the second half of the 9th century and one weight from Rurykovo Gorodishche near Novgorod is dated to the second half of the 9th century. Some finds from the region of Lake Ladoga, of the Upper Volga and of the Upper Dnepr are just a little younger. There are 11 weights from the barrows of the end of the 9th - second quarter of the 10th century. These early finds are not numerous but their shapes and weights are different: they are round with flattened poles, octahedral or cylindrical.

The larger part of all the finds are dated to the 10th century. The round weights with flattened poles are

¹ JANIN V.L., *Denezno-Vesovije sistemy russkogo srednevekovja* (domongol'skij period), 1956, 85.

² JANIN V.L., *op.cit.*, 90.

³ JANIN V.L., *op.cit.*, 174; FOMIN A.V., *Obrasheniye oblom-*

kov kuficheskikh monet v Vostechnoj Evrope v 10 - nachale 11 vv., *Numizmatika i epigraphika* 14, 1984, 134.

⁴ PUSHKINA T.A., *Torgovij inventar' iz kurgano v Smolenskogo Podneprov'ja*, in: *Smolensk i Gnezdovo* 1991, 232-233.

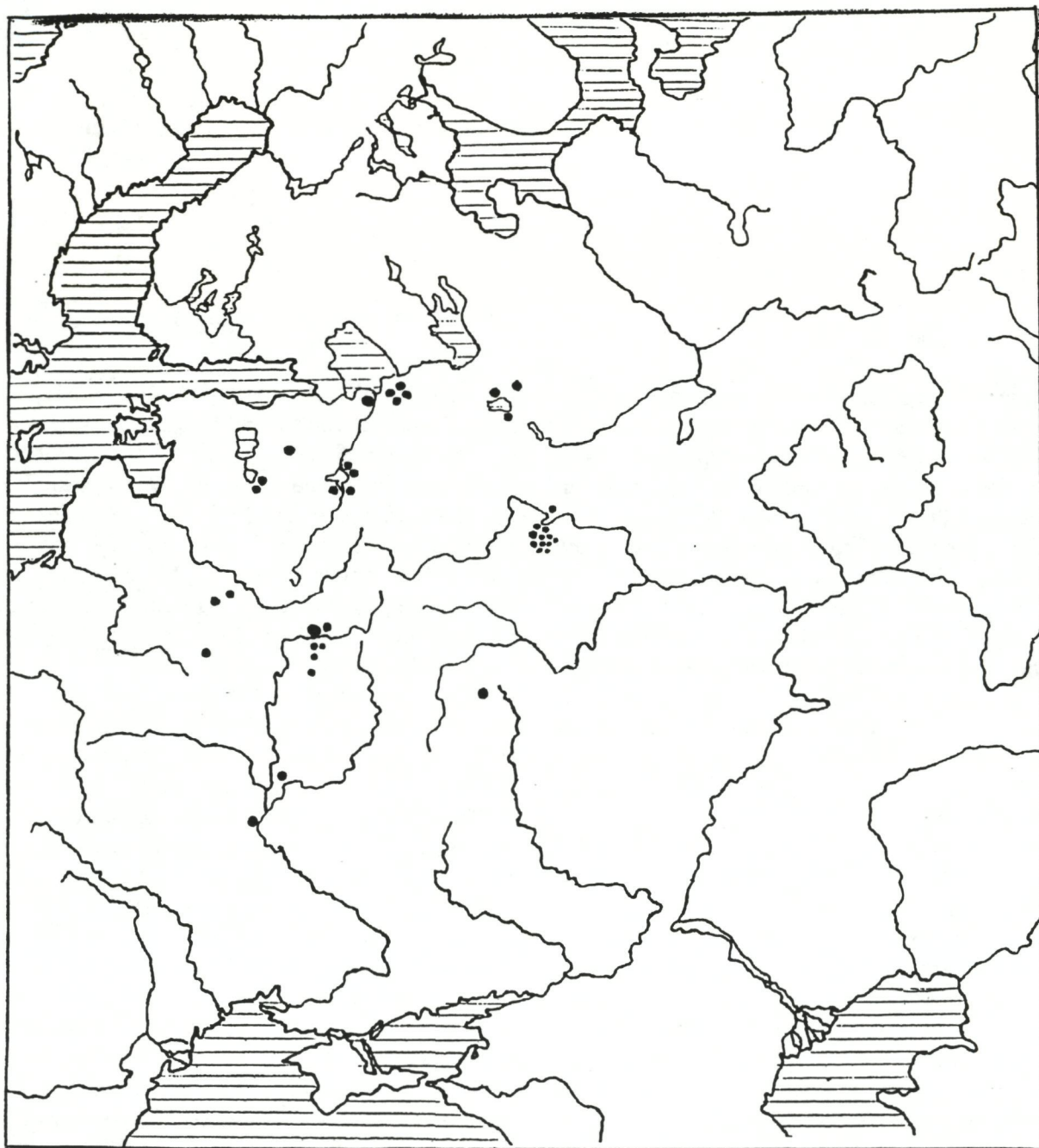


Fig. 1. - Finds of the trade equipment in Old Russia.

predominant. Apart from the indication of their weight, their bronze surface is decorated with a geometrical ornament. The weight of the iron ones varies between 2.47 and 50.5 grams; some round lead weights vary between 3.9 and 98.11 grams.

As regards the quantity of finds, the octahedral weights take the second place. Generally, they are bronze or iron weights and sometimes their surfaces are also decorated with simple geometric ornaments. Their weight varies from 0.65 to 8.53 grams.

Finds of weights with various other shapes (cylindrical, bi-pyramidal, conical, cubic, multi-faceted or figure-shaped) are rare and their weights vary widely. Usually, these are bronze or lead weights.

Most of the weights have been found in Old Ladoga (39 examples) and in Gnezdovo (about 110 examples in settlement contexts and in barrows). Their shapes and weight vary widely. The round and octahedral weights are well represented in many other Old Russian sites; the others are far less common and have analogies in Volga Bulgaria and in Northern Europe.

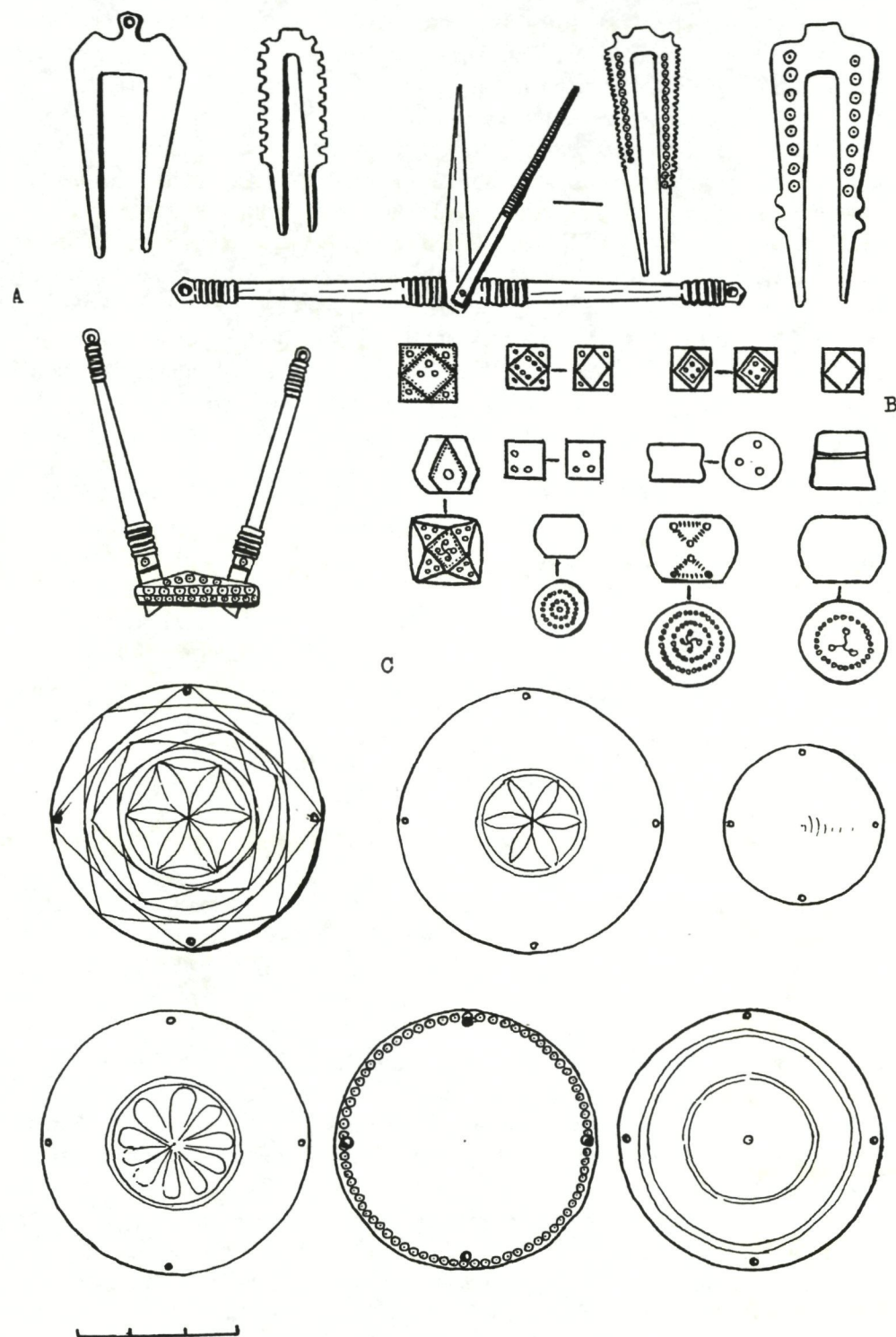
As a rule, only one weight occurs in a grave, but sometimes there are two. The find of more than two weights in a single grave is rare too and in this case the set consists of different round weights. The find of 5 round weights in the barrow in Ust' Rybezna (end of the 9th - beginning of the 10th century) and

Fig. 2. - Trade equipment from Old Russia of the IXth-XIth century.

A: Scales;

B: Weights;

C: Cups of scales.



12 round weights from a children's grave in Udray (11th c.) constitutes a good example of the later case.

As said earlier, weights were also part of a few hoards. The round weights were found in two coin hoards of the end of the 10th century in Novgorod and Podborovka and in the mixed ornament and coin

hoard of the middle of the 10th century in Gnezdovo⁵.

All scales discovered so far are beam balances. This type was widely distributed in Europe in Merovingian times⁶. Many fragments and no less than 20 complete sets of arms and cups were found in the

⁵ PUSHKINA T.A., Novij Gnezdovskij klad, in: *Drevnejshije gosudarstva Vostochnoj Evropy*. 1994. *Novoje v numizmatike*, 1996, 185-186.

⁶ WERNER J., *Waage und Geld in der Merowingerzeit*, München, 1954, 10.

graves and settlements of the 10th-11th centuries. The main part of the finds come from graves of the 10th century and a small part comes from settlements.

Most of the beam balances have folding arms. The length of the functional arm is 10 to 13 cm. Their cross-sections are roundish or rectangular and they have tapering terminals. The terminals are roundish, triangular or rectangular and there are 3 to 7 relief ribs on the base of the arm and in front of the hole on the terminal. Sometimes, the base of the arm is faceted and decorated with a circular ornament, but as a rule, beams have no ornamentation. The central part of the folding arm consists of a double bronze plate with trapezoid cross-section and it is decorated with circular ornament.

The balances are secured in a flat bronze fork which has the shape of a roundish or trapezoid arc. The edges of the arc are usually smooth, but sometimes they are irregularly shaped. In addition, the surface of the fork is decorated with a circular ornament.

The diameter of the round bronze cups amounts to about 3.5 to 6.5 cm, their depth to about 1.7 cm. Most cups have a circular ornament along their outer edge. Some cups from the 9th-century barrows at Gnezdovo, Vladimir and Berezevec are decorated on both sides with an engraved geometrical ornament. Usually the scales were kept in leather containers and in round wooden or bronze boxes, which are sometimes decorated with circular ornaments.

In terms of shape and size, balances are strongly standardized, but it seems that from the 10th to the late 11th century, they became more massive.

Particularly in the case of the finds from Old Russia, there are no important differences with the contemporary finds from other countries. But our collections harbour no scales with chains for holding cups or scales with multi-faceted knobs on the arms, whereas such finds are common in the Baltic countries as well as in Poland and Scandinavia.

The most interesting finds are those of beam balances with straight unfolding arms. Two examples of this type of balances were found in the Upper Dnepr region in Gnezdovo and in the Supruty hillfort in the region of the river Oka. The length of these bronze balances is 11 and 20 cm. Their beams were moulded together with straight arms. They are dated

in the 10th century. There are no analogies in Old Russia, but somewhat earlier, the same type of balance occurs in Norway.

The sizes of the balances show that they were used for weighing of coins or of small quantities of precious metals. The use of threads instead of chains to hold the cups probably points in the same direction.

The problem of the origin of the East European scales with folding arms remains unsolved. One may assume that this type of balance came from the East. There are some indirect indications in favour of this assumption. These include, for instance, the find of scales with the arabic inscription 'tax' or 'customs' in one of the warrior's graves of the 70s of the 10th century in the Upper Volga region as well as a second comparable find of scales with the arabic inscription 'God' from Latvia⁷.

The identification of the graves with trading equipment as graves of merchant-warriors or members of the upper social strata is a consequence of the recognition of the important role of trade in the social and economic development of early medieval society. The analysis of the finds from such important sites as Gnezdovo and Timerevo in the Upper Volga region shows us that about 26 % of all barrows with weapons yielded scales or weights as well. About 63 % of the finds of trading equipment come from burials with very inexpressive or single grave goods.

Probably, the fact that these graves belong to members of the upper social strata can be confirmed only by the combination of the trading equipment with a definite set of other objects; among the latter, weapons, expensive imports or various types of stock may probably be included. In this connection it is important to note that in all the larger 10th-century cemeteries studied (Gnezdovo, Timerevo, Shestovica) about 7 % of the graves had the trading equipment. This proportion is typical for all settlements, which were the centres of the prince's retinue. The collection and realization of tribute was concentrated at these sites and that is why these centres were oriented towards the external connections of the early feudal state rather than towards the internal ones. This proportion must doubtlessly provide information on the correlation between different segments of the population which took part in trading either from time to time or on a regular basis⁸.

⁷ BERGA T., Waagen zum Wagen von Münzsilber in Lettland, *Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis. Studia Baltica Stockholmiensis*, 1992, 38.

⁸ PETRUKHIN V.Ja. & PUSHKINA T.A., K predistorii drevnerusskogo gorada, *Historija SSSR* 4, 1979, 100-112.

Per Kristian Madsen

Ribe, a North Sea town and its Baltic relations A survey of the long lines of the town's late medieval trade

Introduction

The question of Ribe being a Hansa town was raised on the general meeting – the “Hansetag” of the Hanseatic League in 1407 by the Hanseatic “Contor” in Bruges. In the records of the negotiations, the “Rezess”, it appears that the same question was asked concerning the towns of Oslo in Norway and Lödöse in Sweden. And that it had to do with the use of the freedoms and privileges, which had been acquired by the Hanse merchants, and whether these should also be valid for the three towns in question. The answer in fact, was positive, although it appears that a division was made between the towns as such and their merchants.¹ It is stated that merchants enjoy their freedoms in these three towns. But only those merchants of the three towns in question, who belonged to the Hanse, were allowed to use the merchant freedoms and rights – those people who did not belong to the Hanse should not enjoy these rights. This answer is not very clear. This has to do with the fact that times and the idea of what was the Hanse had changed around 1400. Earlier, the merchant rights of the Hanse belonged to individual merchants who formed groups of traders. Now the towns as such became the Hanse-members and a certain town could lead on the Hanse rights to its burghers and residents.

According to the “Rezess” of 1407 neither Ribe nor Oslo or Lödöse were considered members of the Hanse in that sense. But it seems clear that these towns, maybe along with others, were looked upon as places of a certain interest for the Hanseatic merchants and the Hanseatic League. Taking up the subject of Ribe, this seems a fairly interesting background for a discussion of the reasons why their relationship was

debated by the Hansetag in 1407. By doing so I hope to point out some decisive factors behind the triangular interdependency between town topography, social topography and trade history, which forms a major interesting theme of medieval Ribe – this town being the prime example of medieval urban culture on the West Coast of Jutland.

At a conference in Ribe 1992 I demonstrated the ability of archaeological town finds as sources for describing a certain town.² Later on I have had the opportunity to strengthen these views and to discuss to what extent the archaeological finds of imported pottery in Ribe from the 12th to the 14th century may or may not be able to contribute to the general picture of Ribe's trading activities in the Middle Ages. By doing so I have found reasons to define the imports of foreign pottery as a kind of companions, souvenirs, or even fairings, which were brought along on the ships, which carried the real merchandise of that time.³ Generally speaking I do not consider medieval pottery as that fine end evident marker of trade routes crossing the North Sea which it was thought to be by Gerald Dunning in his initial studies of North Sea pottery and trade.⁴ This is illustrated by the almost totally missing finds of imported medieval pottery, which is characteristic for the town of Lübeck. Although this town was second to none in the Baltic, when trade and economic activity is concerned, it has until this very day not produced as much imported pottery from its numerous town excavations as has just one single, ordinary excavation in the centre of Ribe. It might be that West European lead-glazed jugs and early Rhenish stoneware did not mean very much to the wealthy Lübeck merchants, although they maintained intensive contacts with the west, simply be-

¹ “Item alse he begert, to weten van den van Ludehusen, Ryphen unde Anslo, aff man se in des copmans vreyheit vordedingen(n) sulle: in den steden heft de kopman vreyheit, dar umme, we van sodanen copluden in der hense sin, de mach des copmans vriheit bruken; adder de gene, de nicht in der hense sin, de sullen des copmans recht nicht bruken”, Recesse V, 296.

I am indebted to professor, Dr. Klaus Friedland, Kiel, who kindly drew my attention to this, cf. K. Friedland 1958, 36 f.

² P.Kr. Madsen 1993 with references, cf. E. Roesdahl 1995.

³ P.Kr. Madsen 1994, 271, 276.

⁴ G.C. Dunning 1968.

cause they had enough table ware made of other prestigious materials. But still, one could ask, why the "Middle class merchants" then did not take up some cheaper way of demonstrating their social standards?

A part of the explanation to this is probably the difficulties in transporting pottery over land that is along the route between Hamburg and Lübeck, which acted as a main connection of the Baltic and the North Sea trade. On the other hand seaborne transportation around the Skaw, known from at least the middle of the 13th century (see below), and a possible exchange of goods on the yearly fairs of Skanør ought to have been a fairly good compensation for this. I believe that a good deal of the reason behind the almost total absence of Highly Medieval pottery imports in Lübeck lies within the definition of pottery as a carrier of luxury and specific social signals,⁵ which it seems not to have been able to carry on into Lübeck – contrary to its higher esteem in the North Sea trading towns.

The situation in Lübeck must also be seen as a result of the division of Late Medieval Northern Europe into two main trading zones, the one being the North Sea area, the other one the Baltic – and their interdependent relationship.⁶ Paul Enemark states it in his latest surveys of Danish Late Medieval trade⁷ – the export of grain from German towns on the Southern Baltic coast meant a considerable and consistent feature in the trade pattern of Late Medieval Northern Europe. This trade followed the east-west orientated so-called "long lines", as Enemark calls them,⁸ and it was as contributors to this main traffic along the long lines that Danish producers and traders of bullocks were able to make a living by exporting their animals out of Denmark.⁹

Concerning the earlier period, the 13th century, Kristian Erslev and Erik Arup saw the rise of German towns along the Baltic coast as the great chance for Danish farmers and towns, which in their view got a whole new market by exporting their grain to the new

German towns, where good prices were given.¹⁰ The inspiring thesis of Erik Arup may correspond to his ideas about the Danish position in the Baltic trade around 1200, i.e. the Danish supremacy of Lübeck, until the battle of Bornhöved in 1227, a period which according to Arup caused the uprising of a Danish citizenry.¹¹ He may also have been inspired by the fact that Danish export of agricultural products from various harbours is known to have been quite extensive during the Late Middle Ages, although this traffic probably did not take place during the earlier period in question. Arup's bold statements seem the less convincing as it must imply a surplus of Danish grain being so large that it could feed the growing Danish population of the High Middle Ages as well.¹²

Poul Enemark argued that the rise of towns around 1200 was caused by intensified trade between town and countryside or hinterland. This way of trading took place on the marketplace of the new towns and it was dominant until the breakthrough of the Late Medieval trading system with its long lines of communication.¹³ The two quite different views – as well as the medieval way and understanding of trade and bargaining¹⁴ – ought to be considered when discussing trade as the determining factor behind the founding of towns. These were probably only engaged in international trade to a very limited degree during their initial years. Most Danish towns probably arose as Enemark suggests that is as the result of local trade and exchange on their market, which was mainly used by the burghers and the people of the hinterland.

The North Sea connections of medieval Ribe

Ribe – however, was an exception to this, so far that it seems almost always to have moved on along the "long lines". Not only because of its ancient position as main port of trade towards the North Sea,¹⁵ but also – and now we are at last moving back to the real theme of this paper – because it seems to have been

⁵ P.Kr. Madsen 1993, 25 ff.; P.Kr. Madsen 1994, 270 with references.

⁶ B. Poulsen 1988, 201 ff.

⁷ P. Enemark 1991 & 1994, 242 f.

⁸ P. Enemark 1991, 364 ff. especially about the shipping of grain. Another route, which combined sea and land traffic, seems to have been known already during the 13th century. It took the way from the Baltic via Haderslev on the East coast of Schleswig to Ribe, see O. Ventegodt 1982, 85. Also B. Poulsen 1988, 205 ff. points to the importance of land transportation across the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, not to mention the Hanseatic route between the towns of Lübeck and Hamburg. The importance of this route between the North Sea and the Baltic was also stressed by P.A. Meilink 1912, 237 f.

⁹ P. Enemark 1994, 247 f.

¹⁰ E. Arup 1926, 227 f.; *Ibid.* 277-281. Arup argues, that the growth of old and new Danish towns implied the increase of Danish farming.

¹¹ E. Arup 1926, 280 f, connects the growth of new Danish towns with the agricultural development.

¹² Concerning the population number and the growth of the Danish population in the High Middle Ages, see P. Enemark 1994, 241 f., N. Hybel 1994, 50 ff., and Sv. Aakjær in *KVJ* 1, 1, 209 ff. Late medieval export of livestock from Denmark to Lübeck and other Hanseatic towns, see P. Enemark 1991, 373 f.

¹³ P. Enemark 1991, 362, 366. P. Enemark 1994, 242.

¹⁴ Cf. P.Kr. Madsen 1993, 13ff.

¹⁵ S. Jensen 1991. P. Kr. Madsen 1992.

able not only to participate in North Sea trade, but also to profit from the trade between the Baltic and the North Sea region. In other words, it is my thesis that a part of the reason for asking the question in 1407 about Ribe and its Hanse relations, lies within this participation – and that we ought to see the history of the trade of Ribe not only as a part of the North Sea region but within that much wider system, which was briefly touched upon earlier. Although this present paper emerges from a research project, which has its roots in the West, wearing the title “Facing the North Sea”, one ought to say that writing local history or archaeology is fine, regional research is even better and an overregional view is simply necessary.

In order to exemplify this, a few important sources concerning the trade of Ribe have to be mentioned – although they are almost all of a prescriptive character. They have to be treated carefully, and due to their general character they certainly do not produce any reliable statistic figures for us to count.¹⁶ A special example is the Cadastre of King Valdemar from about 1231. It counts the royal income in Ribe from the duty on horses and on salt, 350 marks or more, respectively 40 marks of silver.¹⁷ These numbers may in fact only reflect less than half of the total royal duty income, which had to some extent been shared equally with the bishop of Ribe.¹⁸ Maybe the figures in the Cadastre were fixed on the basis of a qualified guess, or they may even represent a leasing rent more than the exact amount of merchandise passing through Ribe. Anyway – it has been estimated that the astonishing amount of some 8500 horses were exported out of Ribe per year, and older sources state that the duty on salt was already known in the end of the 12th century, whereas the royal taxation on horse export seems not be older than the 13th century.¹⁹

The horse trade may in fact be considered as a specialized production, which made its impact on the

town plan itself. 1224 is the first mention of the market place for horse trade inside the southern gate of Ribe.²⁰ From Ribe much of the export found its way to the Flemish area. According to a treaty from 1252 between the Countess of Flanders and the German towns, fixed duty was put on horses and oxen sold in Damme. This duty includes Frisians and Danes, who also had to pay, even when they had not been able to sell their animals.²¹ They were probably competing with the Germans in the trade on Brugge, to which Damme was one of the outports. Seen against this background it becomes more understandable that some of the only pieces of Danish medieval pottery which is known to have been found in Flanders, really did occur in Damme, and that these few sherds belong to a distinctive group of lead glazed pottery, which is believed to have been produced somewhere in the Ribe area. The dating of this pottery lies after 1300 or maybe a little earlier, and it was probably brought to Damme not to be sold but as part of the domestic utensils of some Danish ship.²²

The salt duty may have been put on salt which came to Ribe from Frisia or from further down North-Western Europe, for instance Baie-de-Bourgneuf in North Western France, and which was resold via Ribe into the Baltic. There it occurs as “Ribe-salt”.²³ This pattern of trade seems to show how Ribe maintained its function as a stable port and that this certainly included trade interests in the Baltic area.

In 1271 the burghers of Ribe were allowed to export lard, grain and horses which they had bought, to Flanders or to any other place, they would like.²⁴ This list of export goods is repeated and added to (herrings, horses, bacon, fat, butter and grain of any kind) in 1283 and 1293, when the king fixes the duty which foreign merchants had to pay in Ribe. It shows the role of Denmark as a supplier to North Western Europe of agricultural products – as well as of her-

¹⁶ O. Ventegodt 1982, 71 ff. gives a detailed account of the sources, which deal with the trade and export of Ribe, cf. also H. Matthiessen 1927, 74 ff. and P. Enemark: article *Handelsveier*, Danmark, KHLNM, 6, sp. 171ff. Only at the end of the Late Middle Ages some numbers and figures, mostly concerning the export of bullocks, are kept, see P. Enemark 1971, and P. Enemark: article *Øksnehandel*, KHLNM, 20, sp. 674 ff.

¹⁷ KVIJ 1,2, 8.

¹⁸ DiplDan 1,3, no. 215 (1196, 18/3) confirms these old rights. 1234 the bishop lost his half of the mint income, DiplDan 1,6, no. 182 (1234, 6/7).

¹⁹ I. Nielsen 1981, 28. O. Ventegodt 1982, 77 f.

²⁰ DiplDan 1, 6, no. 30 (1224). I. Nielsen 1981, 17 f. I. Nielsen 1985, 66 f. The importance of this market place, called “Horstov”, may be indirectly reflected by the founding of the Franciscan Friary of Ribe in 1232, which may have had to put up with a place somewhat north of the market place itself, see C.

Jantzen; J. Kieffer-Olsen & P.Kr. Madsen 1994, 28.

²¹ DiplDan 2,1, no. 64 (1252, May), cf. KHLNM, 20, art. *Øksnehandel* (P. Enemark). In addition to this O. Ventegodt 1982, 77 (with references) mentions, that the payment of Peter's Pence (*census beati Petri*) from Denmark and eventually also Sweden were to be delivered in Ribe, from where the money was shipped to Flanders, cf. H. Nielsen: article *Peterspenge*, KHLNM, 13, sp. 249 ff.

²² These sherds were identified by Bieke Hillewaert, Brugge. Concerning this type of pottery in Ribe, see M. Bencard 1979; P.Kr. Madsen 1980,1 and 1988.

²³ E.H. Madsen 1977, 274 and 283 ff. The “Ribe-salt” is mentioned in the town code of Söderköping along with other types of salt, which were brought around the Skaw and into the Baltic Sea.

²⁴ DGK 2, s. 61, no. 10/DiplDan 2,2, no. 162 (1271, 6/4), cf. *ibid.* no. 163 of the same date.

rings.²⁵ Once more, in 1368, it is allowed to export such goods from Ribe that is, as Poul Enemark has pointed out, still no living animals, such as bullocks, except for the early sources, but only agricultural products.²⁶

This range of Danish export goods is reflected by an unknown poet of the Netherlands who wrote a poem on the legend of the Holy Cross of Breda sometime in the 15th century, see Appendix 1.²⁷ As a part of this local legend about a holy cross, one finds a story about a ship which was equipped in Ribe for a trip to Scotland, but which by accident ended up in the Netherlands. Within its poetical limits this text may give a glimpse of the variety of different kinds of foodstuff which could be carried onboard a ship – or as stated at the very end of the passage quoted, what could be expected to be found in a port or a town. Of course beer from Lübeck is among them, and Danish sides of bacon and beef. Loaves of bread came from Ribe, it is said, and from Scania the ship got beans, peas and two kinds of eel – but apparently no herrings, as would otherwise be suspected.

The Baltic connections of medieval Ribe

Although this lack of herrings may be due to the poet's need for proper rhymes, it could after all be more than a mere coincidence. Ole Ventegodt has assumed that herrings from the market of Scania may have lost their importance for the Ribe merchants already during the later part of the 13th century. This should be due to the larger expences for the transport of the fish from Scania to Ribe, instead of using the cheaper route around the Skaw that is the so-called "*Ummelandsfart*" which appears in the sources for the first time in 1251.²⁸ The "*Ummelandsfart*" did not only deal with herrings; linen and salt are also mentioned in 1251, and this means that the eventual absence of herrings from the cargoes of Ribe merchants

should not necessarily be seen in the way Ventegodt suggests. By writing about "the rather difficult route from Scania to Ribe and henceforth",²⁹ he probably alludes to that main East-West route of trade and communication across medieval Denmark which was a major theme in the works of Hugo Matthiessen. This theory is clearly reflected in Ventegodt's general concept of the trade of Ribe – at least as he saw it in his 1982 paper. The following year he seems not to accept the ideas of Matthiessen any longer.³⁰ There is, however, still fairly good reasons to believe in the existence of land transportation of goods in the Middle Ages, not at least during the later part of this period,³¹ and Ventegodt himself points to the probable existence of a route from Haderslev (i.e. the Baltic Sea) to Ribe already in the 13th century.³² The probable existence of these routes – no matter, how old they may be – should not be underestimated when considering the possibility of Ribe having Baltic connections. That of course does not mean that going by sea was in itself out of the question, and these as well as other sources indicating Ribe's interest in trade out of the Baltic ought to be considered and compared to the town's North Sea activities.

The burghers and town of Ribe were granted a whole series of royal privileges during the 13th century, allowing them to trade all over the kingdom without paying customs.³³ The maintenance of these general rights was considered valuable throughout The Middle Ages, as they were continuously renewed by the kings, for instance as late as in 1517.³⁴ None of these privileges does, however, mention the markets in Skanør, nor any other particular market or town, and of course they do not tell anything at all about where the Ribe merchants really went. But in 1283 the king freed the burghers of Ribe from all kinds of royal customs on the markets at Skanør. It is said that this corresponds to the exemptions which they already had all over Denmark so in fact, the 1283 privilege may have been issued as a further confir-

²⁵ DiplDan 2,3, no. 67 (1283, 15/7). DiplDan 2,4, no. 111 (1293, 8/8). P.Kr. Madsen 1994, 280.

²⁶ DGK 2, p. 69f, no. 22 (1368 20/5). P. Enemark: article Øksnehandel, KHLNM, 20, sp. 674 ff with references.

²⁷ Mr. P.L.J. Giesbers of Breda has kindly drawn my attention to this legendary source, see P.L.J. Giesbers (in manuscript): *Het heilige Kruis en de Denensage te Breda*, where the relevant quotation given in Appendix 1 runs from p. 5,97 to p. 6,130. Dr.phil. Tue Gad, Copenhagen, has kindly made the Danish translation.

²⁸ DiplDan 2,1, no. 50 (1252, 24/9), cf. *ibid.* no. 51 and 52 of the same date. O. Ventegodt 1982, 60 ff. and 81 ff.

²⁹ O. Ventegodt 1982, 77.

³⁰ H. Matthiessen 1927, 109 f, 114. Ventegodt 1982, 71 ff. and 1983, p. 81f. Cf. also P. Enemark: article *Handelsveier*, Danmark, KHLNM, 6, sp. 174.

³¹ An outstanding example is from 1510, when the citizens of Middelfart are allowed to bring their grain and other goods to Ribe in order to sell it, without being disturbed by their own town council, see DGK 3, p. 578, no. 2, (1510, 23/4).

³² Cf. note 8. In 1570 Ribe had 16 hauliers, in 1640 it had 19 and in 1682 only 4, O. Degn 1983, 88.

³³ DGK, 2, p. 3-7, no. 1 (1202-14) - 7 (1266, 15/3). O. Ventegodt 1983, 77 f points out, that by these privileges the king restrained from taking goods, which Ribe burghers had lost because their ship was wrecked. This kind of privilege was only granted to Ribe and two other Danish medieval towns. Ventegodt assumes that this was a kind of special subsidence for Ribe, being the only North Sea port of Denmark, *ibid.* 1983, 81 f.

³⁴ DGK, 2, 102 ff, no. 50 (1517, 26/2), cf. *ibid.*, 95 f, no. 41 (1491, 29/12).

mation of something which had perhaps taken place for some time.³⁵ Compared with other towns in North Jutland, Funen and Sealand, from where royal privileges about customs are kept, this privilege was in fact something unusual. The general rule seems to have been that these towns were freed from all royal customs except those concerned with the fairs at Skanør – or as it is very often expressed in the Late Medieval texts – the markets or fisheries at Skanør or in Scania etc.³⁶ Only Stege seems to have enjoyed this freedom, according to a privilege issued by king Erik Glipping between 1259 and 1286 which is however only known from a late and shortened version.³⁷ The only parallel to the privilege of Ribe may be found within the Duchy of Schleswig, where the town of Schleswig was freed from paying any customs in Skanør in 1282, one year earlier than Ribe. This may reflect the old interests of Schleswig in the Baltic trade and the town's connections with the North Sea Trade. Schleswig's Town Code from 1200-1250 also mentions those merchants who sailed from Schleswig to Gotland.³⁸ Flensburg does not seem to have got that kind of privilege. In 1320 it was stated that its burghers only had to pay the usual customs all over the Danish reign, including Skanør.³⁹

The rights that Ribe had got in 1283 concerning the fairs at Skanør, as well as the general privileges of the town were renewed in 1288.⁴⁰ This last document was confirmed as late as in 1506 by king Hans, and it seems to have been held in quite a high esteem by the town which took care to have it certified at least twice during the second half of the 15th century.⁴¹ The eventual Baltic affairs of Ribe during the Late Middle Ages probably had less to do with Ribe merchants being particularly interested in trade in herrings at that time, as it may reflect their dominant position in the import of cloth from Western Europe

which since the High Middle Ages brought them and their textiles all around the country.⁴² That could be the reason why Danzig was visited by a ship from Ribe in 1476, and why in 1537 two burghers of Ribe were bound for Danzig, Riga or Reval.⁴³ Besides this the bullock trade became a matter of far more than local importance to the Ribe merchants. In 1518 Christiern the Second allowed burghers and merchants of Ribe, who sold their silver at the Royal Mint in Malmö to use the money they had obtained by doing so to buy bullocks all over the country and to export them.⁴⁴ No wonder that the Ribe merchants acted as a kind of royal purveyors, for instance to Queen Christine as shown by her account books from the first decades of the 16th century.⁴⁵

This interdependant relation between Baltic and North Sea trade which seems to lie behind these sources, may be somewhat further elucidated by the evidence of Danish merchants and ships operating on the East Coast of England. In 1919 Bering Liisberg published a list of five entries of Ribe ships in the customs accounts dating from 1303 to 1323 from the harbour of King's Lynn. Based on this he as well as Ole Ventegodt pointed out that trade between Ribe and England was, as they saw it, still maintained into the 14th century, although clearly declining.⁴⁶

Whether these entries should be understood exactly in that way, may be questioned. Concerning the different cargoes which these five ships are believed to have carried from Ribe, Poul Enemark has suggested that apart from the herrings they may not represent Danish products but may have been purchased at the market in Skanør and brought to England by the Ribe merchants. In that case these ships may have gone around the Skaw, even though the possibility of land transportation across the northern part of the Duchy of Schleswig also has to be considered.⁴⁷

³⁵ DGK, 2, 62 f, no. 12 (1283, 15/7): „...sicut ubique infra terminos regni nostri...sunt exempti...“.

³⁶ In a chronological order, reflecting the dates of the preserved sources, which in some cases may reflect older regulations: From North Jutland: Randers 1302, 8/3 (DGK 2, p. 233, no. 1) and 1321, 4/5 (DGK 2, 234 f, no. 3). Skive 1326, 15/8 (DGK 2, 255, no. 1) and 1443, 22/1 (DGK 2, 255 f., no. 2). Kolding 1327, 22/7 (DGK 2, 109 ff, no. 2) and 1442, 21/12 (DGK 2, 111 f, no. 3). Vejle 1327, 16/8 (DGK 2, 143 ff, no. 2). Viborg 1442, 11/6 (DGK 2, 213). Funen: Fåborg 1413, 17/9 (DGK, 3, 562f, no. 10), cf. 1251, 13/7 (*ibid.* 555, no. 1). Bogense 1445, 23/2 (DGK 3, 585 f, no. 5).

³⁷ DGK 3, 437, no. 2 (1259-1286).

³⁸ DGK 1, 42, no. 8 (1282, 16/12) and *ibid.* 9, no. 1 <30>.

³⁹ DGK 1, 185, no. 9 (1320, 16/8).

⁴⁰ DGK, 2, 63 f, no. 13 (1288, 28/12).

⁴¹ DGK, 2, 86 f, no. 31 (1465, 25/3) and 95 f, no. 41 (1491, 29/12).

⁴² P. Enemark: article Klede, *Handel med klæde*, Danmark,

KHLNM, 8, sp. 464 f.

⁴³ P. Enemark: article Östersjöhandel, Danmark, KHLNM, 21, sp. 46 with references.

⁴⁴ DGK, 2, 104 f, no. 51 (1518, 29/11).

⁴⁵ Dronning Christines Hofholdningsregnskaber, for instance 205 f., 257 ff.

⁴⁶ The decline of Ribe's trade on for instance Groningen during the 14th century is discussed by P.A. Meilink 1912, 238 f. The view of B. Liisberg 1, 1919, 147, was probably based on A. Bugge 1906, 264 f, but without considering Bugge's remarks about those of the merchants, who seem not to have been residents of Ribe. Bering Liisberg's list is reprinted with a few changes in O. Ventegodt 1982, 74. *Ibid.* 72 concerning connections Ribe-England during the first quarter of the 13th century, cf. P.Kr. Madsen 1994, 277 ff. concerning the archaeological evidence. Also Hugo Matthiessen.

⁴⁷ P. Enemark: article *Englandshandel*, Danmark, KHLNM, 3, sp. 672, cf. P.Kr. Madsen 1994, 278 and note 8.

Due to the courtesy of Dr. Wendy Childs, University of Leeds, a more detailed list of the relevant customs accounts, not only compiling the five entries from King's Lynn, could be included here as Appendix 2,1.⁴⁸ This completed list does not, however, allow the conclusion that the ships, nor the merchants onboard them, actually did participate in a direct cross traffic between the English East Coast ports and Ribe, nor that the merchants did actually live there – they might only have carried a name which showed some family relation to Ribe. The list enlarges the known number of ships, shippers and/or merchants, but perhaps the peak of probable Danish or maybe Ribe merchants during the period 1303–05 is in fact only temporarily. It coincides with a Hanseatic blockade of King's Lynn from 1303–07 which caused Gotlandic merchants to sail to England via Norway.⁴⁹ And, indeed, one should notice the peculiar name "Nicholas de Ripe, called the Gother", who left the harbour of Yarmouth in 1326.⁵⁰

Anyway – as Poul Enemark stated, the customs accounts seem to support the idea that the operation ratio of the Ribe merchants covered the North Sea region as well as the Baltic. It is, though, worth considering whether the Ribe merchants did participate in the "*Ummelandsfart*" rather early, and to try to establish an idea about the nature of this participation.

The "*Ummelandsfart*" is first mentioned 1251, when the Danish king Abel fixed the duty for ships taking part in this traffic,⁵¹ but when it was actually started, and by whom, remains unknown. However, in 1224 the English king allowed Gilbert of Schleswig, merchant of Denmark, to go with his ship, his belongings and his merchandise to England. This was done to the benefit of the Duke of Lüneburg, and this may indicate some Baltic connection, for instance con-

cerning salt trade.⁵² So, if Gilbert is considered to have been Danish, and if he intended to go around the Skaw, this could be an evidence of Danish participation in the "*Ummelandsfart*". According to Ole Ventegodt such participation is not otherwise known of before the registration in 1303 in King's Lynn of the ship "Cayserinne" which he considers to be from Haderslev – although it is only its master Henry, who carries a name which may have derived from that North Schleswig town (see Appendix 2,1).⁵³ In either case, however, the names of these two men do not inform us about the home port of the ships or their actual sailing route, nor does the mention in 1285, and in 1297 of a Danish merchant being plundered in England and a Danish cog in the harbour of Holm.⁵⁴ Concerning the privileges of 1251 Ole Ventegodt writes that they were set up by the Royal Danish Chancellor Esger, who was at the same time bishop of Ribe. Whether this meant anything towards the case of the foreign merchants, is difficult to tell. Ventegodt suggests that the merchants of Ribe may have been against any privileges to the "*Ummelandsfart*", because they wanted to concentrate as much of the trade as possible in Ribe.⁵⁵ Even so, the Baltic interests of Ribe are clearly demonstrated, and by that it seems fairly clear that if the merchants of Ribe had already at that time found their way into the route around the Skaw. That they were exempted from royal customs at the Skanør markets in 1283, which as I pointed out may be seen as a further confirmation of status quo or was maybe not the first letter of its kind could in fact reflect a permanent interest of theirs in the Baltic area in the 13th century and by that, also in the "*Ummelandsfart*".

A further, hypothetical answer to the questions raised so far may to some degree be derived from the

⁴⁸ The custom in question was inaugurated in 1303 and called the "New Custom". It replaced the "Great Ancient Custom" which started 1285 and which was only put on wool. The "New Custom" was put on all goods which was imported by foreign merchants. A primary list of the relevant entries concerning Ribe was presented by Dr. Childs, Senior Lecturer in Medieval History, University of Leeds, on the Second Symposium "West Jutland and The World", Lemvig 1995. In its present, final issue it was kindly placed for my disposal by Dr. Childs. In her lecture to the Symposium in Lemvig Dr. Childs pointed out that the customs accounts did not include English merchants, and that foreign customs were suspended from 1311 to 1322.

⁴⁹ H. Yrwing: article *Östersjöhandel*, KHLNM, 21, sp. 41. A. Bugge 1899 about the Gotlandic trade on England, especially p. 155 ff. focuses on the customs rolls. Nothing is said concerning Ribe, but compare A. Bugge 1906, 264 f., and A. Bugge 1899, 155 ff., who used the same records to make his list of Gotlandic merchants and ships.

⁵⁰ Cf. T. Rafto: article *Englandshandel*, Norge, KHLNM, 3,

sp. 662f. Concerning the finds of English pottery in Bergen and its evidence for the English-Norwegian trade, see H. Lüdtkke 1991, cf. comments by P.Kr. Madsen 1994, 269 f.

⁵¹ See note 28.

⁵² DiplDan 1, 6, no. 18 (1224, 11/7), cf. *ibid.* no. 201 (1224, 23/7), cf. O. Ventegodt 1982, 73, who suggests, that Gilbert perhaps used "the old trading route Schleswig-River Ejder".

⁵³ O. Ventegodt 1982, 82. Following H. Matthiessen 1927, 107 he writes (*ibid.* 74), that the "Cayserinne" in fact was from Haderslev. Matthiessen in turn cited A. Bugge 1899, 156, who in fact does not mention Master Henry of Haderslev, but only that a certain Salomon from Gotland was on board the ship.

⁵⁴ DiplDan 2, 3, no. 136 (1285, 10/5), no. 142 (1285, 17/6) cf. *ibid.* 2, 4, no. 254 (1297, 15/4) – both mentioned by O. Ventegodt 1982, 82, who assumes, that they came from Ribe.

⁵⁵ O. Ventegodt 1982, 62 and 1983, 83 f. Concerning bishop Esger as a royal Chancellor, see N. Skyum-Nielsen 1963, 228 ff., 239 ff. and 241 f. concerning the "*Ummelandsfart*".

distribution pattern of the medieval pottery imports which I described in more detail three years ago: perhaps the merchants of Ribe took part in a kind of triangular or even squaresided trading from Skanør, maybe via Norway to England or directly to Flanders or Northern France, and from there via the Rhine estuary back towards Denmark. It is worth considering, whether these ships may have carried cargoes of salt or building stones as their last cargo back to South Western Jutland, and that the reason for the unusual large representation of imported pottery in Ribe was that the pottery was brought along almost exclusively from the last harbour before Ribe – as a kind of souvenir, as I believe it was. If a triangular or squaresided traffic of this kind was effective, the very restricted amount of English pottery in Ribe and the much greater number of pottery sherds from Northern France, Flanders and the Rhineland seem the more understandable.⁵⁶

On the other hand, this does not mean that pottery, nor other kinds of merchandise, only or always went strictly from its production area to the consumer, nor that Denmark as a producer of farming products would not import such goods itself. Four English royal decisions, three of which concern the English East coast port of Yarmouth, show this.⁵⁷ In 1224 the ship of Rikvin of Ribe, a Danish merchant, was allowed to leave Yarmouth, and the same year Danish merchants are allowed to come to England for a period of two years.⁵⁸ In a separate letter, also from 1224, the English king gave his permission to trading vessels and fisher boats from Scotland, Norway, Iceland, Frisia, Cologne, Denmark and “the Eastern parts” – (of Denmark?) – to go into the harbour of Yarmouth. French ships and those from Poitou are excluded which may have been the general idea instead of promoting Danish merchant activities.⁵⁹ Still in 1224, the English king allowed grain to be exported from King’s Lynn to Norway, Denmark and Flanders or to other places, except the French domains.⁶⁰ Both Yarmouth and King’s Lynn were by that time probably such

international ports that most of the goods which were circulated within the North Sea Area trading system could be obtained there. This in fact demonstrates that there was probably no single main centre within this trade, although the range and amount of different goods of course did differ from port to port. In fact, one could feel tempted to consider the English king’s expression “the Eastern parts”⁶¹ as an allusion to the fairs at Skanør and by that to the existence of the interrelations between the North Sea and the Baltic, maybe by means of the so-called squaresided traffic which I suggested above.

Later sources of the 14th century which were investigated by Ole Ventegodt, suggest that a trading route as just sketched may have been efficient. Ventegodt shows⁶² that a kind of tramp shipping evolved, and that the merchants often did not use or possess their own ships, but commissioned their goods to other, professional transporters. The end of this was the emergence of ship owners who neither went with their ships nor used these only for their own cargoes but had to rely on the crew and on those people who eventually chartered a ship or a part of it. In the spring of 1365 a Danish cog, owned by a certain Claus Limbek, took in a cargo of coal in England which was then sailed to Dordrecht.⁶³ The coal was sold, and a company led by a merchant chartered the ship which took onboard a cargo of salt, destined for Reval. Unfortunately the ship was not able to leave Dordrecht, because of some financial circumstances, and eventually the owner’s agents decided to sell it. This was clearly done against the will of its owner, but he probably never got back his ship, nor the money he had involved in it, although he tried also to blame the town of Lübeck for his loss. This case in fact shows the emergence of a market for transport and of ship owners, who had to run the risk of relying on their servants. Another example is from 1385, when an English shipowner lost a ship that his servants had sailed from Estonia to Scania. There it got a cargo, bound for England, but it never got there, because the

⁵⁶ This hypothesis was launched in P.Kr. Madsen 1994, 278 f. English pottery imports in Ribe, see A. Vince forthcoming. Concerning the salt trade, see E. H. Madsen 1977 or B. Poulsen 1991.

⁵⁷ O. Ventegodt 1982, 73 f.

⁵⁸ DiplDan 1, 6, no. 20 (1224, 23/7), *ibid.* no. 21 (1224, 26/7).

⁵⁹ DiplDan 1, 6, no. 24 (1224, 23/8). 1226 the English king postponed his grant with another year, DiplDan 1, 6 no. 61 (1226, 31/8).

⁶⁰ DiplDan 1, 6, no. 28 (1224, 29/12).

⁶¹ DiplDan 1, 6, no. 24 (1224, 23/8): “...de terra regis Dacie et de partibus illis orientalibus...”.

⁶² O. Ventegodt 1982, 66 ff.

⁶³ O. Ventegodt 1982, 69. DiplDan 3, 7, no. 392 (1366, 18/6)

and no. 421 (1366, 15/8) from the City Council of Dordrecht to the Council of Lübeck. The last letter gives the date of the sale of the cog in Dordrecht, which was 1365, in May (“...uel circiter...”). One of the two men, who had to sell the cog, which really belonged to Claus Limbek, was in fact a special servant of his, whom Limbek had sent out in order to reclaim his cog, but certainly not to sell it, see DiplDan 3, 7, no. 331 (1365, 25/11), as confirmed by the Council of Ribe 1366, DiplDan 3, 7, no. 389 (1366, 5/6). The last letter in this case is from the Council of Lübeck to Claus Limbek, with copies of the two letters from Dordrecht, and telling him, that Lübeck was not to be claimed for the loss, which his servants had caused him, DiplDan 3, 7, n°450 (1366, 11/11).

vessel was shipwrecked.⁶⁴ One year earlier a company of eight merchants from York lost a ship, belonging to a man in Hull, when they were on their way from Scania to Hull with herrings.⁶⁵

Ribe merchants: Town councillors, lords and burgomasters

The exceptionally well preserved information concerning the lost cog of Claus Limbek ought to be compared with the sparse knowledge that we have about Claus Limbek and a few other 14th century characters. Common to these men was that they were connected to Ribe and engaged in trade and other financial affairs of a large extent. What we know about them may in fact to some degree draw up the background of the question of Ribe being a Hansa town in 1407.

Claus Limbek himself, who was he really? He was in fact almost everything. He was a nobleman from the Duchy of Schleswig, who entered Denmark in the company of Count Gerhard of Holstein before the middle of the 14th century. He managed to serve not only him, king Valdemar Atterdag and the Holsatian counts – and as it seems – not least himself. Being in high charge of the king, having the function of the King's seneschal (Latin: *dapifer* and Danish: *drost*), he changed party several times, but eventually managed to get the castle of Riberhus as his fief together with his two sons in 1368. At that time he had allied himself with the counts of Holstein, but it seems that he must have died shortly after that, maybe in 1368.⁶⁶ That the position of the Counts and the Limbeks in Ribe may have been rather solid, emerges from the fact that the town took care to get its privileges confirmed by the Counts in the same year 1368. Their confirmation cites the older privilege of 1261 which allowed the town's export to Flanders in general, although this export was otherwise totally forbidden in 1368.⁶⁷

I believe that this exemption was in the interest of Claus Limbek and his sons. Based on the possessions of their own and the fiefs, they obtained from the

Duke of Schleswig, the Danish king and the Counts of Holstein they ended up having more or less permanent possession of larger parts of the Duchy of Schleswig and of South Western Jutland which lasted up until around 1425.⁶⁸

Claus Limbek was the owner of that cog which ran into troubles in Dordrecht in 1365, and in 1350 the bishop of Roskilde had promised him the bishop's own ship after his death.⁶⁹ Limbek may have possessed and operated more than one vessel, and maybe his home base for this was in fact the town of Ribe. In 1350 Hans Limbek, who was an uncle of Claus, was buried in the Cathedral of Ribe.⁷⁰ Relations concerning trade between Claus Limbek and Ribe were established before 1368, as for instance in 1366, when the Town Council issued its letter of confirmation concerning the trouble Limbek had in order to reclaim his cog in Dordrecht.⁷¹ His family interests in the trade from Ribe seem clearly reflected in 1368, when Claus Limbek and his sons as lords of the castle and town of Ribe agreed to owe a certain Henrik Andersen, burgher of Ribe, the sum of 80 marks of silver which had been handed over to the Limbeks.⁷² In turn Henrik Andersen got the right to enjoy the income of the royal customs of Ribe for the next four years. In addition, the Limbeks promised not to give up the castle or the town before the debt had been paid off – either by means of the custom income or directly by themselves. They also promised something quite unusual – that no merchant should be allowed to export any goods from the two towns Varde and Ringkøbing, unless they took the goods to Ribe and paid the customs there – that is, the town of Ribe could by this claim staple rights towards the other two towns.⁷³

The Limbeks were at that time allies of the enemies of the Danish crown, and nobody knows whether Henrik Andersen would have been able to get his money back if the Holsatian Counts and their vassals lost control of Ribe. He eventually died in 1369, but the Limbek family stayed in the area. Henneke, the son of Claus Limbek, gave back the fief and castle of Riberhus to Queen Margrethe in 1399 for the large sum of 8000 marks.⁷⁴

⁶⁴ DiplDan, 4,2, no. 550 (1385, 8/2).

⁶⁵ DiplDan 4,2, no. 518 (1384, 24/11).

⁶⁶ H. Bruun: Claus Limbek, DBL vol. 9, 1981, 45.

⁶⁷ DGK 2, p. 69 f, no. 22 (1368, 20/5).

⁶⁸ Cf. note 67, DBL p. 45 f. J. Kinch 1869, 245 ff. Danmarks Adels Aarbog, 1902, 263 ff.

⁶⁹ See note 59. DiplDan 3, 3, no. 285 (1350, 13/5).

⁷⁰ P.Kr. Madsen 1980,2, 41 with references. Danmarks Kirker, Ribe Amt, 108.

⁷¹ DiplDan 3, 7, no. 389 (1366, 5/6), cf. note 59.

⁷² DiplDan 3, 8, no. 187 (1368, 6/7).

⁷³ In a way this should be compared to the outstanding privilege of 1292, which gained Ribe the free possession of the waters and beaches between List, Mandø and Ribe etc., as well as the jurisdiction of this area, corresponding to the Town Code of Ribe – a kind of „contado“, so to say, DGK 2, 64f, no. 14/ DiplDan 2, 4, no. 82 (1292, 25/8).

⁷⁴ In 1388 Henneke and his wife Jutta planned to have their burials in the Cathedral of Ribe. He, however, was buried in Meldorf, being a victim of the battle at Meldorf on the 4th of

Perhaps the document of 1368 shows an alliance between the actual lords of the Ribe area and an outstanding member or even a representative of the merchants of Ribe at that time. Henrik Andersen, who is known as a Town Councillor in 1368,⁷⁵ was probably no ordinary burgher of Ribe. His first known relative – maybe his uncle – was perhaps that burgher of Ribe, Jon Bonde, who in 1335 declared to have got an estate in the parish of Framlev south of Århus from the Chapter of Ribe.⁷⁶ In return for that estate Jon Bunde promised to give the chapter another estate in the “syssel” of Varde and to add to this something more, if the estate in Framlev proved to be of a greater value. So he did six years later, in 1341 which was the year of his death, when a farm in the parish of Henne was laid out as a suitable compensation.⁷⁷

A few years later, that man appears in the sources who was the father of our Henrik Andersen. His name was Anders Bundesen, and perhaps he was related to Jon Bunde, maybe his younger brother. Anyway, in 1351 Anders Bundesen was already a Town Councillor of Ribe, when the son of Jon Bonde, called Hergert, conveyed him a stone-house of his on the eastern side of Grønnegade in Ribe as well as yet another small stone-house in the back of the same plot which had its own free passage to the river.⁷⁸ A year later Anders Bundesen had his acquirement of this whole property confirmed by the Town Council, who adds that Anders Bundesen had in fact had a mortgage in that same property of 22 marks of silver from the widow and sons of Jon Bonde.⁷⁹ What happened, was that a mortgage which the heirs of Jon Bonde had not been able to redeem, was now taken over by the unsatisfied holder. Even within a family such transactions are not uncommon. Now, the essential thing is that Anders Bundesen could lend out the sum of 22 marks – and that the plot in question lies within that area of Ribe where the finds of imported pottery from the 12th and 13th century are most common. I told quite a lot about that in my lecture to the 1992 conference, asking whether this archaeo-

logically-based indication of an older social topographical division of the town might still be reflected in the 14th century.⁸⁰ Furthermore we know that the stone-house in question was kept by the Bundesen family until 1394, when the grandson of Anders, who was called Anders Henriksen – the son of course of that Henrik, who took over the royal customs income in 1368 – sold it to the town of Ribe.⁸¹ The town used it as its town hall, and according to later descriptions it was – or became – a magnificent structure, consisting of no less than three storeys and with three large pinnaced gables towards the street – as we can imagine it from the prospect of Ribe by Braunius and Hogenberg from 1598. It is said that this house was originally the bourse of Ribe, and that its cellars were divided into store rooms of an equal size. The street which it belonged to is still called the street of the Groningers, Grønnegade, and the presumed bourse is said to have been used primarily by the merchants of that town.⁸² Again one must ask the question about the possible continuity between the High and the Late Middle Age social topography.

Anders Bundesen, himself, did not live in the stone-house in Grønnegade, but on the main street that is on the Dam which crosses the river. In 1361 he – with Claus Limbek and others – witnessed a document issued by the duke of Schleswig,⁸³ and there he is called burgher of Ribe and perhaps as the Ribe historian J. Kinch saw it, also an “armiger” which means that he was considered a member of the lower noble class – however, this remains a little doubtful.⁸⁴ But the way that Anders Bundesen appears with his wife on his brass effigy, certainly underlines the position he had and wanted to show.⁸⁵ The aspirations Anders may have had seem to have been fulfilled by his grandson, who had his own coat of arms in his seal matrix which he used in 1394, when selling his grandfather’s stone-house in Grønnegade.⁸⁶

Anders Bundesen then had been dead since 1363. This is the date which is given of his and his wife’s magnificent golden brass which was placed on their

August 1404, Danmarks Kirker, Ribe amt 108 f. In 1398 Margrethe had paid a dept of 2000 marks to Henneke, Rep 1, nr. 4228. Cf. note 68 and J. Kinch 1868, 245 ff. V. Etting 1986, 137-138.

⁷⁵ DiplDan 3, 8, no. 221 (1368, 1/9), where he lends out 20 marks of silver.

⁷⁶ DiplDan 2, 11, no. 205 (1335, 28/3). The estate was a wineyard, which meant, that its income was to be used for supplying the church with wine and bread for the Holy Communion.

⁷⁷ DiplDan 3, 1, no. 136 (1341, 16/1). Jon Bunde had already sold the Framlev estate in order to pay his depts – concerning his death, see J. Kinch 1869, 179 and 214, note 2.

⁷⁸ DiplDan 3, 3, no. 497 (1351, 29/10).

⁷⁹ DiplDan 3, 3, no. 597 (1352, 8/12).

⁸⁰ P.Kr. Madsen 1994, 275.

⁸¹ Kinch 1869, 212.

⁸² P. Terpager 1736, 460. Cf. M. Bencard 1977 concerning the Town Hall and the role of the Bundesen family. P.A. Meilink 1912, 238 f.

⁸³ DiplDan 3, 6 no. 2 (1361, 9/1) with no traces of a seal of Anders Bundesen.

⁸⁴ The Latin “armiger” corresponds to Danish “væbner”, which may be translated as esquire or perhaps baronet.

⁸⁵ Concerning this and other Ribe brasses, see P.Kr. Madsen 1980 and Danmarks Kirker, Ribe amt, 635 ff, both with references.

⁸⁶ See note 77.

grave in the Cathedral.⁸⁷ The brass itself was destroyed in 1790-93, but a drawing shows it to have been an excellent example of the Flemish or Bruges school of brasses from the mid 14th century. It had its first position within that newly build chapel of St. Barbara which Anders Bundesen had erected on the northern side of the High Choir of the Cathedral. The foundation document is still known in its full extent, issued by the Bishop, the Chapter of Ribe and the town in 1363 shortly before Anders died.⁸⁸ I shall not go into details about the wealth, out of which Anders created the financial substance for his eternal foundation. But yet another stone-house of the old Jon Bonde in Grønnegade, now belonging to the Chapter, is mentioned, and a separate bathhouse owned by Anders Bundesen opposite to this which he donates to the Cathedral, as well as estates in the village of Vilslev north of Ribe, valued 32 marks, which he had in mortgage from the knight Niels Bugge. No wonder that Anders Bundesen was not only a town councillor, but that he also appears as the first known burgomaster of Ribe.⁸⁹

People like Jon and Hergert Bonde as well as the Bundesen family were certainly not ordinary burghers, nor may they have been totally representative of their fellow townsmen in Ribe. On the other hand – the main reason why we still do know a little about them is that some of their activity was directed towards the Cathedral of Ribe, whose archives are still kept to such a degree that details like this can occasionally be found. One might like to know about those other Ribe councillors, who chose to secure their aftermath and their souls by gifts to other institutions, whose archives we do not know, for instance the two mendicant Friaries of Ribe.

It should be remembered that even today the Cathedral of Ribe houses several supporting slabs of black or blue sandstone from Namur which were once wearing the same type of memorial brass as the one which commemorated Anders Bundesen and his wife. One of these carried the brass which was laid on the grave of King Christopher I (died 1259) somewhere in the middle of the 14th century. Others among them were perhaps destined for members of the clergy, but we do know for sure that at least one of them was commemorating another burgher of Ribe, and that yet another was made for Johannes Limbek (died

1350), and his wife or perhaps Henneke Limbek (died 1404) and his wife.⁹⁰

The existence of burghers using coat of arms, or being granted them by the king, is not unknown.⁹¹ We cannot know, if some of them were in fact members of families from the hinterland, who had taken up the risky business of the merchants. In the Ribe area the preponderant power of the bishop almost totally destroyed what may have been left of High Medieval nobility, and some members of those families had in the 14th and 15th century no other chance than to become the bishop's bailiffs or officers. This in its turn again made it possible for some of them to start reclaiming the stairs of society, but that is another, and later, story.⁹²

What we do know about the Bonde and Bundesen families by the middle and the later part of the 14th century, and their association with the powerful and enterprising clan of the Limbeks, brings us a glimpse of that outstanding level of burghers and lords, who – being active as merchants on a grand scale – did enjoy "the freedom of the merchants" in Ribe – as the Rezess of the Hansetag in Brugge 1407 puts it. By doing so, they attracted foreign Hanseatic merchants to Ribe – and by that they placed the town in such a position that the mere occurrence of the question of Ribe merchants enjoying the benefits of the Hansa rights may at that time have been nothing but reasonable. A main point behind this seems to have been what was launched as the focal thesis of this paper: Ribe's participation in the trade between the Baltic and the North Sea – still the town was "Facing the North Sea", but that certainly did not mean that it was unaware of what happened behind its back. Maybe it moved along the long lines, playing the role of a Janus, so to say?

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⁸⁷ P.Kr. Madsen 1980,2, 41. Danmarks Kirker, Ribe Amt, 635ff. transcribes the Latin text.

⁸⁸ DiplDan 3, 6, no. 289 (1363, Jan 1st - July 6th).

⁸⁹ J. Kinch 1869, 216.

⁹⁰ P.Kr. Madsen 1980,2, 41, cf. note 68 and 74. Danmarks Kirker, Ribe Amt 108. *Ibid.* p. 635 transcribes the Latin text and points out, that the primary position of the memorial in the

Cathedral is not exactly known – it was, however, not in the Chapel of St. Barbara, cf. note 68 and 74.

⁹¹ 1459, 3/6 the king raised Torbern Jepsen, burgomaster of Ribe, to the peerage, granting him his personal coat of arms. The royal letter is shown in Achen 1973, 13.

⁹² H. Fangel 1985, 220 ff. H. Fangel and L.S. Madsen 1988, 372 ff.

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Appendix 1

From: „*Het heilige Kruis en de Denensage te Breda*“ – with a translation into Danish by dr.phil Tue Gad lines 97 to 130:

Die coninc hadde een scip doen reken
daermen wonder af mocht spreken.
In deenmerke bleef gheen soe vast.
100 Daer in stont die scoenste mast.
Diemen binnen noorweghen vant.
Die ree dat zeyl ende dat ghevant
ne mochte gheen man volprisen.
Die coninc hadde dat scip doen spisen
105 dat soude hi node hebben ghelaten.
Men droech daer bier in met vaten
dat te lubeke was ghebrouwen.
So dedemen oec te minen trouwen
vele broets met groten sacken
110 dat te ripen was ghebacken
deensche baken deensche vlecken
die harde dicke waren van specken
rentvleesch ende scapen mede
dat herde wit was inden snede
115 wilbraet ende venisoene
boter kese wit ende groene
erweten ende bonen
die daer comen waren van sconen
stocvissche ende makerel

Kongen havde ladet udruste et skib
som man omtalte med beundring.
I Danmark var der intet (andet) så stærkt.
Deri stod den skønneste mast
som man fandt i Norge.
Råen, sejlet og vanterne
kunne ingen prise nok.
Kongen havde ladet skibet proviantere,
det kunne han næppe have ladet være.
Man bragte der fade med øl ind
som var brygget i Lübeck.
Så bragte man også min tro
meget brød i store sække,
det var bagt i Ribe,
dansk bagværk, danske flæskesider,
som var meget tykke af spæk,
oksekød og får tillige,
som var helt hvidt i snittet,
vildt og venison,
smør, ost hvid og grøn,
ærter og bønner,
som var kommet fra Skåne,
stokfisk og makrel,

- 120 *paeldringhe ende pinperneel*
soete water borninchout
loec ayuyn asijn ende sout
peper was comijn ende kersen.
Van allen desen voersiden mersen
- 125 *was herde vele binnen den kiele*
op aventure oft gheviele
dat si yewer waren verstecken
dat hem niet en mochte ghebreken
si en hadden van allen binnen der boort
- 130 *recht oft ware in een poort.*
- ål og pimpernel,*
ferskvand, brændsel,
løg, ajuin, eddike og salt,
peber, voks, kommen og kærter.
Af alle disse nævnte varer
var der vældig mange i skiber,
for det tilfælde at det skulle ske,
at de blev drevet et eller andet sted hen,
så de intet skulle mangle,
men havde af alting om bord,
ligesom om det var i en stad.
- 115: *Venison er et andet ord for vildt, måske hare.*
 118: *Skåne rimer på bønnen. Om det kun er ærter og bønnen, eller også det foregående, der kommer fra Skåne, fremgår ikke.*
 120: *Pimpernel er en slags ål.*
 122: *Ajuin er et andet ord for løg eller en anden slags løg.*

APPENDIX 2

Danish merchants in English customs accounts of the middle ages

1 MERCHANTS OF DENMARK IN ENGLISH PORTS IN THE EARLY FOURTEENTH CENTURY⁹³

Date	Port	Shipper	Goods	Val. in £sd sterling
1303				
8 Jun	Lynn ⁹⁴	On the <i>Orilaund</i> , inward		
		Peter de Ripe	'heydukes', wadmal	£52
		Osgen de Ripe	ashes, wadmal	£24
		Pope de Ripe	pitch, wadmal	£ 2
		On the <i>Orilaund</i> , outward		
6 Aug	Lynn ⁹⁵	Peter de Ripe	corn (<i>bladum</i>), other goods	£38
		Osgen de Ripe	lead, corn (<i>bladum</i>), other goods	£24.10s.
		On the <i>Cayserinne</i> , master Henry de Hadresclive, inward		
		Henry de Hadresclive	boards	£28.16s.
		On the same ship, outward		
16 Aug	Boston ⁹⁶	Henry de Hadresclive	salt	£28
		Salamannus de Gutland	2½ cloths without grain	
		On the ship of Walter Stipel of Harderwijk, outward		
		The said Walter	lead	£ 5
		Radulfur de Ripe	lead, English cloth (<i>pannus anglicanus</i>) and 1½ scarlet cloths	£33.10s.
		Mathew de Grening'	worsted cloth	£ 2

⁹³ All the accounts are in the Public Record Office, London, and all are in Latin. They have been tabulated in English here. To provide the fullest context the whole recorded inward and outward cargoes have been given of ships with any apparent Danish merchants aboard.

⁹⁴ E122/93/2: 24 Feb 1303-26 June 1304. Possibly should be read *Crilaund*. (Listed as the "Crilaund" by O. Ventegodt 1982,

74. He writes that the five ships in his list were from Ribe, but this may not be so, cf. the following entry from Boston).

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁹⁶ E122/5/7: 10 Feb-29 Sep 1303; printed in Gras, *Customs System*, 279. There is no trace of Radulfus with an inward cargo on this account.

5 Sep	Boston ⁹⁷	On the ship of Saier de Ripe, inward		
		John de Rode	grey-work, wadmal, ashes	£60
		Snithewynd	wadmal, ashes, old cloth (<i>veterus pannus</i>)	£30
10 Sep	Boston ⁹⁸	On the ship of Saier de Ripe, outward		
		John de Rode	lead, English cloth (<i>pannus anglicanus</i>) and 1½ scarlet cloths	£30
		Snythe Wynd	lead, corn (<i>bladum</i>), cloth	£33
		Henry Stuart	lead, corn (<i>bladum</i>)	£34
		Hermann de Vale	English cloth (<i>pannus anglicanus</i>)	£23
1304				
22 Apr	Lynn ⁹⁹	On the ship of Reginald de Rypon, inward		
		Godescalk de Nunore	fish and oil	£24
		On the ship of Reginald de Rypon, outward		
		Godescalk de Nunore	English cloth (<i>pannus anglicanus</i>)	£24
8 May	Lynn ¹⁰⁰	On the <i>Roukenbergh</i> , inward		
		Hisberk de Harderwijk	wadmal	£7.12s.
		Mathew de Denemark	wadmal, ashes	£90
		On the <i>Roukenbergh</i> , outward		
		Hisberk de Harderwijk	salt	£7.12s.
1305				
29 Aug	Blakeney ¹⁰¹	On the <i>Welifare</i> , inward		
		Falcone de Ripe	old cloth (<i>veterus pannus</i>)	£2.10s.
14 Nov	Burnham ¹⁰²	On the <i>Wilfare</i> , inward		
		Richard de Ripe	nuts, herring	£18
1306				
23 May	Blakeney ¹⁰³	On the <i>Lichfot</i> , inward		
		Nicholas de Ripe	rye	£14
no date	Blakeney	On the <i>Lichfot</i> , outward		
		Nicholas de Ripe	say	£1.17s.
2 Dec	Lynn ¹⁰⁴	On the <i>Blyelef</i> , outward		
		Reyner de Rype	144 quarters of wheat 2 pieces of say	£28.4s. 16s.
1310				
16 Sep	Boston ¹⁰⁵	On the ship of John Stac', outward		
		Ringbold Teers	catskins, worsted cloth and 1 scarlet cloth	£13
		Jacobus de Ripe	English cloth (<i>pannus anglicanus</i>) and 5 cloths of Beverley	£ 3

⁹⁷ E122/5/9: 10 Feb-29 Sep 1303; printed in Gras, *Customs System*, 298.

⁹⁸ E122/5/7: 10 Feb-29 Sep 1303; printed in Gras, *Customs System*, 285-6.

⁹⁹ E122/93/2: 24 Feb 1303-26 June 1304; if not an Englishman, then Reginald de Rypon may be identified with Reyner de Rype at Boston in 1306.

¹⁰⁰ E122/93/2: 24 Feb 1303-26 June 1304.

¹⁰¹ A member port of Lynn: E122/93/3: July 1304-29 Sept 1307. (Inward listed as the „Wilfaire“ by O. Ventegodt 1982, 74).

¹⁰² A member port of Lynn: E122/93/3: July 1304-29 Sept 1307.

¹⁰³ A member port of Lynn: E122/93/3: July 1304-29 Sept 1307. (Inward listed as the „Lithfot“ with wheat by O. Ventegodt 1982, 74).

¹⁰⁴ E122/93/3: July 1304-29 Sept 1307. (Inward listed as the „Blyelefe“ with wheat and wool cloth by O. Ventegodt 1982, 74).

¹⁰⁵ E122/6/8: 2 Aug-29 Sep 1310. There is no trace of Jacobus with an inward cargo on this account.

¹⁰⁶ E122/93/17: 22 Jul 1322-1 Oct 1323; printed in Oven, *King's Lynn*, 359. (O. Ventegodt 1982, 74, lists a ship by the name „Maynkyn“ with herrings, wheat and barley and states, that no shipper is known).

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*; and 348.

¹⁰⁸ E122/148/31: 25 March 1326-26 Feb 1327: exports only.

¹⁰⁹ E122/96/36: 6 March 1456 to 24 January 1457. The cargo is given in the mixture of Latin and English vocabulary found in the record.

1323

11 May	Lynn ¹⁰⁶	On the ship of Maynkyn de Rypen, inward	
		Maynkyn de Rypen	14 lasts of herring £14
			20 quarters of barley £4
			6 barrels of rye £1
12 May	Lynn ¹⁰⁷	On the ship of Maynkyn de Rypen, outward	
		Maynkyn de Rypen	in coin sterling £30

1326

15 Jul	Yarmouth ¹⁰⁸	On the ship of Nicholas de Ripe, called the <i>Gother</i> , outward	
		Ludekin de Ripe	English cloth (<i>pannus anglicanus</i>) £12

2 THE CARGO OF BORAS RYPE DE HANSE¹⁰⁹

The surname Rype is rare among aliens visiting England in the fifteenth century. It may indicate man of Ribe working from the town; or it may indicate that a family from Ribe had emigrated to Hamburg or some other Hansard city taking their placename with them.

1456 6 Aug at Lynn

In nave Johannis Taunte		£ s d	£ s d
Boras de Rype de Hanse pro		10 C pitelyng	5.0.0
	2 doliis ferri	4.0.0	
	32 wawe glasse	20.0.0	
	3 last' osmond'	12.0.0	
	4 barellis hony	1.0.0	
	1 barell' cum spicid cakys	1.8	
	12 sadilles	13.4	
	1 barell' cum drynkyng glasys	6.8	
	26 litill basons	6.8	
	2 C 37 scopys	3.4	
	1 cista cum 10 ellys et 2 peciis		
	lewent	10.0	
			= 43.11.8

Other merchants aboard, all designated as of the Hanse and therefore paying lower Hansard custom duties, had the following goods:

Hennyng Buryng de Hanse*	woad, pitch, bitumen	14. 0.0
Roloff Egbright de Hanse	woad, osmund	14. 0.0
Clays Amleger de Hanse	wainscot, bitumen	2. 0.0
Hans Snecoppe de Hanse	woad, skins, linen, osmond,	
	trenchers, tables, purses	34. 0.0
Hans Piker de Hanse	glasses, bottles	1. 0.0
Rasmus Esken de Hanse**	osmond, pitch	7.10.0
Corte Gunshot' de Hanse	lewent, 'skevens'	2. 0.0
Hans Nelle de Hanse	saddles, purses, buck skins, gloves	2. 1.8
Luder White de Hanse	glass, osmond, iron, lewent	12.10.0
Johan Gorys de Hanse	hemp, Flemish linen, featherbeds,	
	cushions, skins, yarn, etc.	10.18.0
Walter Gorys de Hanse	kettles, pewter jars, old sheets etc	5.14.4
Gerard Dusterhope de Hanse	hats, glasses, slick-stones	1. 0.0
Total value		150. 5.8

* Of Hamburg; ** of Soest; all others are recorded only on this ship, and are unidentified by Jenks, *England, die Hanse, und Preussen*, III.

Jonathan M. Wooding

Long-distance Imports and Archaeological Models for Exchange and Trade in the Celtic West AD 400-800

The ‘Exchange and Trade’ session at the first ‘Medieval Europe’ conference, five years ago, was the occasion of a sustained assault upon the prevailing model of exchange and trade in western Britain, Ireland and Scotland in the pre-Viking period (henceforth, for convenience, the ‘Celtic West’, with due deference to the shortcomings of this term). At that 1992 session David Griffiths presented a brief critique of the tendency for archaeological discussion to focus on the evidence for long-distance exchange at the expense of investigation of short-distance resource gathering and redistribution (Griffiths 1992b). Peter Hill (1992) presented detailed evidence of resources which had evidently been gathered to Whithorn through traffic along the Solway and contrasted these with the proportionately smaller site-presence of goods, notably imported ceramics and glass, which had arrived through long-distance traffic. The latter, though a large assemblage by insular standards, he saw to be of less economic importance than the material from local sources. Thus, along with Griffiths, he proceeded to question the preoccupation of most studies of exchange and trade in the Celtic West with the long-distance imports (e.g. Dark 1997). My own contribution on that occasion was to re-examine some of the research issues concerning long-distance ceramic and glass imports, and to strongly question the tendency to see some of them, notably the glass imports, as evidence of ‘production’ (Wooding 1992; also 1996, 83ff).

The reception of the polemical views outlined in the 1992 session has so far been limited. This may in part be due to their development in short papers in relatively obscure publications (Griffiths 1992a, 1992b, 1994; Hill 1992 – but note Hill forthcoming). Harold Mytum has added some judicious observations along similar lines in his broad post-processual analysis of material life in early Christian Ireland (Mytum 1992, esp. 252ff), but there has been only limited debate on exchange except where it pertains to the more lively debate on urbanism (for bibliography see Etchingham 1996, 137-8). In most respects the *status quo* on exchange and trade is still

where it was in 1992. Five years on, then, I would like reconsider this debate with respect to the imports. Has ‘external trade become central to an all-embracing social model in archaeological research’ (Griffiths 1994, 187)? In what ways may it have prevented us from formulating other pertinent questions concerning exchange and trade in the Celtic West?

It must be accepted from the outset that, whatever the circumstances of its adoption into models of economy or cultural intervention, the evidence of external exchange, in the form of ceramic and glass imports in particular, remains central to archaeological research in the Celtic West, as these are our primary diagnostic artefacts for sites in the AD400-800 bracket. The Celtic West in this period was essentially anumismatic and the alternatives of materials for dendrochronological or radiocarbon dating are neither as accessible or consistently present as ceramic and glass fragments. It is therefore an obvious, but still pertinent, point to make that some aspects of the dating of Hill’s evidence for local exchange at Whithorn would not be possible without the evidence of long-distance imports. The Mediterranean dishes and amphorae, *palaeochrétienne grise*, E ware and ‘Merovingian’ glass vessels found at sites such as Whithorn are, in Charles Thomas’ words, a ‘chronological liferaft’ (Thomas 1976, 255; see Wooding 1996, 41-92 for recent discussion of dating issues). What Griffiths and Hill are questioning, however, is not the centrality of the detritus of external trade to the dating of other economically significant evidence, but whether this dependence on imports for establishing archaeological chronology may have exaggerated the potential role of overseas contacts in economy and in social transformation. Has such a confusion arisen?

Through the work of, in particular, David Peacock, and more recently Richard Hodges, the distributions of ceramics of all types have become accepted as evidence of trade and ‘indicators through characterisation’ (Hodges 1989) – and, as such, central to critique of models of trade in the late-Roman and sub-Roman eras. It might be argued, however, that in

such critique their most valuable role has not been as indicators of representative trade patterns. Rather, their primary importance has been to provide a chronological platform from which to demonstrate discontinuity in such sweeping models as the Pirenne Thesis (Hodges & Whitehouse 1989; Fulford & Peacock 1984). Arnold (1983), reviewing Hodges' work, has rightly observed that the link between transportation of ceramics and trade should not be exaggerated. Marx – thinking in terms of tool-making industries and the Three Age system (Marx 1930, 172) – stressed that the importance of archaeology was that it focused attention on production, through uncovering its 'osseous systems' (tools). What we are dealing with in the imported ceramics, however, is not evidence of the osseous systems, but of the 'vascular' systems (containers and distribution mechanisms) of production, which Marx saw as less representative of entire economic processes. Marx's distinction, if made with no profound knowledge of archaeology, still serves as a worthy reminder that the imported ceramics need to be clearly related to a context of consumption or production before being taken as evidence of trade *per se*. Mytum, for example, while downplaying the centrality of ceramics to economic debate, accepts their utility 'because they can be provenanced, their distributions plotted and the mechanics of trade and distribution suggested' (Mytum 1992, 252). Can we always be certain, however, that *trade* is indicated? Or, indeed, can we be sure that such routes as are indicated had more than marginal social or economic importance?

The focus on external trade to the Celtic West arises from models which pre-date the modern interest in ceramics and trade. The interest in the possibility that there was trade in elite commodities to the Celtic West commenced with Heinrich Zimmer's 'Weinhandel' thesis (1909-10). Zimmer argued that Ireland and western Britain maintained large-scale trading links with the Continent in an unbroken continuity from the pre-Roman era. It was assumed, perhaps on the basis of Polybius' testimony that Celts were always 'greedy for wine', that Roman goods and tastes would have been well established amongst Iron Age elites in Ireland by contacts with Roman traders. Zimmer's thesis played much the same role in insular studies as Henri Pirenne's did in studies of sub-Roman Europe, by arguing that these 'Roman' market demands and supply of these demands carried over virtually unchanged into the sub-Roman era and beyond. Zimmer's method was heavily coloured by Mommsen's positivist model of history (on Zimmer and Mommsen see Ó Lúing 1994, 259). In the absence of actual diplomatic sources, much emphasis was placed upon the selective use of hagiography (on the

'historical' edition of which for the MGH see Knowles 1962, 3-32; for subsequent studies on this model, see Levison 1948, 1ff; Doehaerd 1978, 149ff) and even heroic literature as evidence of *gesellschaft*, which because of the demands of their genres included references to wine and other elite goods, perhaps disproportionate to their historical presence, as well as to mariners travelling long distances, often with convenient bounty. Hodges' critique of Pirenne's thesis, that 'documentation central to his model is limited and, to some extent, ambivalent' (Hodges 1989, 7), can be applied *mutatis mutandis* to Zimmer's thesis (Wooding 1996, 32-34). The references which Zimmer saw as indicating continuous contact over several centuries can now, especially with the assistance of ceramic distributions and chronologies, be seen to indicate a range of quite differing patterns of contact from century to century (Wooding 1996, 1997). This revision of Zimmer's model of continuing Roman trade is similar to the revision which was made to Pirenne's model of continuing sub-Roman east-west trade in the light of sixth-century ceramic sequences – of which those found in the Celtic West are a subset (Fulford & Peacock 1984, 259ff).

With its focus on trade, Zimmer's thesis, like Pirenne's, subsequently played a greater role in archaeology than in history, as historians of the Celtic West, even more than their continental counterparts, came to focus on problems of source edition and intellectual history at the expense of economic history (Byrne 1971, 1-2; Davies 1983, 67-68). In the 1930s the Harvard Archaeological Mission in Ireland, under Hugh Hencken, along with the associated work of Seán P. Ó Riordáin, turned up numerous finds of the ceramic types which were to become known (after Radford 1956) as 'A' (now 'PRS and ARS': Phocaean and African Red Slipwares), 'B' (Mediterranean amphorae) and 'E' (Gaulish) wares. These were tied to the commodity trading model provided by Zimmer – though initially only to the 'wine trade' in a vague sense, without explicit or detailed reference to Zimmer's model (Ó Riordáin 1947, 70).

It would be fair to say that there was little macroscopic debate on the political or maritime contexts of the importation of these wares, which were found in increasing numbers throughout the region from the 1950s onwards. Research initially by Ó Riordáin (with the advice of Mortimer Wheeler, Gerald Dunne and Donald Harden), and then by Raleigh Radford, Charles Thomas and Bernard Wailes, followed the reasonable policy of seeking parallels abroad in a range of locations – though direct references to Zimmer's thesis show how much these researchers ultimately came to be guided by his basic model (Radford 1956, 67; Peacock & Thomas 1967, 39;

Thomas 1976, 252-253). Ironically, as recent studies have noted (James 1982; Wooding 1997), these references take account of Zimmer's largely discredited model of cultural diffusion as much as his evidence for trade *qua* trade. The focus on religious exchange and ecclesiastical sources in Zimmer's thesis may have encouraged subsequent speculation that the imports had a specifically 'Christian' character. The personal interests of Radford, however, as well as the concurrent tendency to label the period AD400-800 'Early Christian' (Graham 1993, 19), may be equally responsible. The 'Christian' importation theory, which was based on circumstantial details such as the occurrence of the imports on 'monastic' sites and the presence of Christian symbols on a minority of the finds, was later demolished by Burrow (1973), as part of his rejection of Tintagel as a monastic site.

In this somewhat distracted archaeological debate, the arrival of the substantivist critique in the Celtic West was more an historical than an archaeological revolution. The lack of coins from the Celtic West had largely excluded the region from wider debates regarding sub-Roman trade, such as the all-important polemic of Morrison (1963) on Pirenne's idea of 'international' economic structures, and the critique by Grierson (1959) of the assumption that all exchange equalled 'trade'. Not until two decades later would Charles Doherty (1980) make a similar critique of exchange and trade in the Celtic West. Doherty identified the potential evidence for levelling mechanisms in Irish documentary sources and this evidence has been developed subsequently in the work of Gerriets (1983; 1987) and Patterson (1991). Doherty also noted the evidence for a range of goods in legal definitions of ships' cargoes, of which wine is only one many items discussed (see Wooding 1996, 32-4, 69-70; 1997, 69-71). This, along with subsequent post-processual theoretical debate, has been held to suggest that Irish society, at least, may even have been too tightly controlled to permit of conventional trade driven by external contacts (e.g. Mytum 1992, 261).

Should we downplay the importance of external trade in the Celtic West? The narrowness of some of the questions asked in the 1950s through 1980s should not lead us to abandon the subject altogether. Ethnogenesis cannot be held to explain the entire range of cultural changes which occurred in the Celtic West in the Roman and sub-Roman periods. Some changes – the arrival of Christianity must be one of these – occurred through external contact, and evidence for external trading contacts must be accepted as having the potential to explain some aspects of this process. Griffiths, for example, comments that the evidence of Roman contact with Ireland is not very substantial in archaeological terms and he interprets the finds from

around Dublin Bay, for example, as 'primarily the result of interchange of people (such as migrants and mercenaries) rather than any substantial trade' (Griffiths 1994, 184). Finds from sites in North County Dublin, however, mostly unpublished, suggest that we do not yet have a sufficiently representative picture of the archaeology of this area to downplay external contacts and their influence. The quantity of material from Loughshinney (Warner 1995, 26 for discussion of the site) is especially suggestive of strong Roman commercial contact and this supports evidence from historical and onomastic sources (e.g. Mac an Bhaird 1991-2) for Romano-British traffic centring on the east and south east of Ireland. A few finds, then, may dramatically change our thinking on the importance of external contacts.

There are other areas in the study of external contacts in which we are far from having said the last word. Post-Pirenne, the debate concerning long-distance traffic in Europe became fixated on monetary policy – a line of approach suggested by Pirenne himself. This to some extent excluded discussion of contacts in terms of any process except commerce and effectively excluded the – anumismatic – Celtic West from discussion. Only A.R. Lewis, in a series of mostly confused studies (e.g. Lewis 1978), was willing to see in the Celtic West an impact of the same policies by European monarchs as affected currency and trade across Western Europe. The presence in the Celtic West of imports of probable Byzantine origin in the sixth century, and Gaulish imports in the late sixth through seventh, parallels possible evidence for Byzantine (Whitehouse 1992) and Gaulish (Wood 1991) influence upon Anglo-Saxon England in the corresponding centuries. The goods found from the Celtic west are not the same sorts of imports of valuable metalwork and coins found at sites such as Sutton Hoo, and they may have come in through connections of a quite different character. If Ian Wood (1991, 13) would describe Frankish influence in East Anglia as evidence of 'the world dominated by the Franks' in the seventh century, however, we might also consider the presence of Gaulish wares in the west as broadly suggestive of the same influence (Wooding 1996, 66-8). Equally, the presence of Eastern ceramics on sites in the Celtic West in the sixth century must be suggestive of what we might term the 'world dominated by Justinian'.

If Griffiths is correct to say that the importance of external contacts is overrated, it must be said that the manner in which they have been overrated has in these cases studiously avoided some pertinent questions. Discussion of the eastern imports frequently sought an historical dimension in a fanciful story of a storm-driven Byzantine merchant (for recent dis-

cussion see Knight 1995, 45; Wooding 1997, 82), but it was not until 1989 that these imports were considered in the light of more historical evidence for the influence of Justinian's policy in the West (Fulford 1989). In such cases we should not throw the baby out with the bathwater. There is nothing incompatible in this with Griffiths' ideal. These contacts merit study their own right, not as an assumed backdrop of continuous commerce which acts as a *deus ex machina* in cultural debates. Raftery (1969, 199) was unwise to deny the possibility of direct links to the Mediterranean altogether in the period AD400-800, but he was justifiably critical of the tendency to see interventionist contacts as the cause of every exotic-seeming feature of insular culture. Analysis of these contacts in a broad context of economy and society will better define the limits of their cultural impact. Putting their study to one side will not.

Griffiths, Hill and Mytum, however, rightly stress that the imports themselves have become too central to all debates concerning exchange; reanalysis must seek to remove itself from the tendency to see the imports as indicating economic activity. An example of this problem is the application of the theoretical terminology which attempts to identify 'gateway communities', 'ports of trade' and *emporía* in the Celtic West – though it must be noted that few such discussions have so far gone beyond superficial parallels. Richard Hodges would identify Dalkey Island as a likely exchange site in terms of the model which argues for the inherent social neutrality of islands and the degree of control that a ruler could exercise in terms of access routes to the site (Hodges 1978, 115). The evidence for regular occupation of the island in the period AD400-800 (Liversage 1967-8, 165) and the range of imports present – including Mediterranean wares, E ware and glass – adds some weight to this argument, though in view of the variety evinced in the morphology of high-status sites in Ireland this site, which is a promontory fort on the northern tip of the island, might also be explained simply as a highly defensible settlement site. In the case of both Dalkey and Nendrum, the other frequently cited 'port of trade' (Hodges 1989, 67; Graham 1993, 24), one suspects that the fact that both sites are islands with imported artefacts is the principal basis for identifying them as such (which is the conclusion of Mytum 1992, 263). In the case of Nendrum, its supposed find of E ware can now be shown to be a later medieval ware. Does the absence of E ware leave any other strong criterion for seeing Nendrum as a trading site? Certainly Nendrum has evidence of craft production which may be early medieval, but this is true of other monastic sites (Ryan 1988) and the dating of the evidence from Nendrum

to the AD400-800 bracket is questionable without the E ware.

Alan Lane's identification of Dunadd as a 'gateway community' to Dalriada commands greater attention, based on his and Ewan Campbell's important discoveries over several years work at the site, as well as the location of the site on a key portage (Lane 1994, 109ff; Wooding 1996, 107). Whether the functioning of Dunadd in this role is more than a process of geographical circumstance, by which occasional imports – such as key pigments for use in ecclesiastical art (Lane 1994, 111) – passed through the site, may remain to be proved from further regional study. That the quantity of E ware at Dunadd is greater than from any other site (Lane 1994, 109), for example, could certainly have been determined by the greater scale of excavation at Dunadd than at most other sites in the Celtic West. This seemingly large quantity of evidence for external trade at Dunadd should not then distract attention from the extensive evidence for local production and redistribution *within* the Hebridean zone (Harding 1990, 7ff), to which Dunadd, as a 'gateway community' for occasional imports, may be peripheral. Here Hill's critique seems especially relevant.

The presence of scatters of glass and other finds in sixth/seventh contexts in the Celtic West draws misleading comparison with similar detritus on trading sites in eastern Britain, or with sites from later periods. Recent study of the glass finds from the Celtic West by Campbell and others (Campbell 1995; Wooding 1996, 44ff), however, has disproved the long-held thesis that they were imported as 'cullet' – i.e. in a fragmentary state for use in production of artefacts decorated with glass. Henderson and Ivens (1992) further, have questioned the centrality of the recycling of the fragments of imported glass to the decorative glass industries in the Celtic West. This removes the glass imports from any inherent value-adding process. Similar cases of artefacts which have been described as 'reworked' or found in a context of value-adding may be noted. Finds of Samian ware in fragmentary form from early medieval contexts now suggest that it was brought in as fragments to be used as relics (Lynn 1984, 29ff). No convincing argument has yet been made that these objects were reworked on site or used in any production process. Sherds of Bi (Peacock & Williams Class 43) amphorae have been found reworked into discs (e.g. Rahtz 1974, 110, fig. 3, no. 20). These were in fact reworked off-site and came to Britain as stoppers for filled amphorae (cf. Bass & Van Doorninck 1982, 160-161). Again their insular economic context is passive in production terms – the recycling took place abroad. There is a tendency – inherited from the study of prehistoric

industries – to present glass vessels and even ceramics in archaeological reports as substances, rather than the remains of objects. In fact, however, it is increasingly being shown that materials such as the glass were being imported as objects of use which had no direct connection to local production. The disproving of Harden's thesis must be seen as having wide implications for the assumptions which have been made regarding the functions of find sites in the Celtic West. On an *emporium* in eastern England, or Viking Age Ireland, the fragmentary remains of glass or even ceramics may be seen in the context of an on-site production process. Here they cannot.

The exclusion of imports from possible processes of production might be held to suggest that they arrived in relatively culturally-neutral contexts. Namely they were either pre-purchased and therefore had a proscribed consumer context; or, perhaps, they were sold at point of importation on a speculative basis. Any individual reuse of the vessels which was made is hence relatively unimportant in economic terms. Yet at times the discussion in archaeological reports has an air of special pleading in seeking a socially consistent context of reuse (e.g. Liversage 1967-8, 167). The same is also true of many artefact reports which attempt to define odd or damaged pieces as attempts at 'local copies' of imports. Such speculations perhaps hint at a discomfort with the idea that imported goods do not have an 'impact' in terms of promoting production or social change.

E ware has only lately come to be appreciated in terms of its actual form: a coarseware, in the form of 'cooking pots', beakers, plates, pitchers and small jars. The social function which these pots were expected to perform has too often been treated as incidental to the contacts which they indicate, probably from western Gaul in the seventh century, which have been inevitably ascribed to the 'wine trade' (Wooding 1988). Campbell, in a mostly as yet unpublished study, has identified patterns of staining on E ware vessels, which he argues may imply that they were not used for cooking, or at least not consistently so. On the basis of this Campbell has argued instead that these imports entered Britain as containers for valuable commodities (see Lane 1994, 110). The assumption that these vessels are kitchen wares is rightly questioned (Lane 1994, 110). The idea that they were mainly containers, however, is not conclusive either and it is probably safest for the moment not to attempt to link them too closely to the processes of trade or production. Ei and Eii vessels are not self-evidently containers, for all that Ei would make a suitable vessel for such relatively stable substances as honey, or even perhaps salt. It should be observed that whereas the other Mediterranean imports have a

definite context as containers abroad, this not demonstrable in the case of E ware in any Gaulish context. Campbell's close analysis of the vessels, which contains valuable references to a range of other imports, is yet to be published, however, and may have more to add to the picture so far presented.

The problem here still might reside in the attempt to explain the E ware vessels in terms of the economics of the 'trade' which brought them in. Comparison with the Mediterranean wares may be misleading, if made on the assumption that, being external trade goods, they have more in common with each other in economic terms than they do with other objects in use in the society around them. Caroline Earwood has looked for parallels between E ware forms and the forms of lathe-turned wooden vessels of seventh-century date in Scotland and Ireland (Earwood 1990, 85). None of these parallels is so close, however, as to make the exercise entirely conclusive and here we might question the need to place the imported E ware at the beginning of a sequence of production. This might imply that the appearance of E ware brought about market changes which eventually necessitated the finding of alternatives to supplement or replace it. The appearance of E ware in the seventh and eighth centuries might be better explained, however, in terms of a broad change in consumer patterns – which may occur with only subsequent reference to the imports. Here is where Griffiths' critique is salutary. Finbar McCormick's researches would suggest a pattern of economic change across this period, with greater hierarchy emerging (McCormick 1995; Graham 1993, 21ff). A text such as *Crith Gablach*, written around the eighth century, details household structures involving many small vessels (Wooding 1988; 1996, 82). The emergence of local ceramics soon after the appearance of E ware, in the form of Souterrain Ware, along with the wooden vessels, might suggest in broad terms a market demand for a variety of small vessels which were not previously needed. To attempt to identify E ware amongst these, or to argue for its causal influence on some forms, would perhaps be to assume that E ware is closer in economic terms to the cause, rather being simply one of the many indicators, of this process of change. This may be to overrate the influence of coarse pottery with a relatively limited distribution.

The hierarchical nature of Irish society may have put strong limitations on the functioning of external exchange. There are sufficient sources of evidence for goods in transit, however, that we must assume commercial movement of goods. Who was ordering such goods and how? Recent debate has tended to favour the idea that a network of high-status secular

sites was responsible (Thomas 1988, 1990; Lane 1994, 112). Fragments of an early Irish law text *Muirbretha* ('sea judgements') imply that importation of goods to designated persons was legally possible, providing for penalties to the crown when they went elsewhere (Wooding 1996, 68ff; an edition is in preparation). In the light of this it is reasonable to accept the archaeological arguments for royal jurisdiction over trade (e.g. Lane 1994). To claim that trade was controlled by royalty on the basis of distributions of imports, however, is not an end in itself. We must not limit discussion to the distribution processes of the imports. Burrow disputed the exclusivity of the model whereby the imported ceramics were understood as 'religious' in association, a view which he questioned in terms of their occurrence on a majority of sites without overtly religious function. The legacy of his polemic, however, has perhaps been the questionably critical model whereby one simply adds up the number of sites where such ceramics are found and dissects them in terms of a 'secular/religious' dichotomy. This cannot be taken as disproving a role of religious networks in importation or distribution and Mytum has argued that the religious community was in many ways well placed to play a role in importation. In the light of our still poor understanding of the structure and practice of early Christianity in the Celtic West we cannot even safely assume that a hillfort, for example, may not have been the setting for some religious practice or residence. The site at Whithorn, at which historical reasons suggest church control in the period AD500-700, is one of the few sites which has so far demonstrated evidence of value-added production. This seems to add weight to the idea that we need to consider distributions in more than morphological equations, but in a network of hinterland relations and with some attempt at a picture of the social-economy as a whole.

In conclusion, we may not be too critical of a field in which a handful of workers have rightly prioritised the study of imports which are central to the interpretation of field archaeology. Nonetheless, Griffiths' and Hill's critiques have a great deal to offer in the interpretation of a regional archaeology that *has* made external contacts central to a social model, at the expense, perhaps, even of a full understanding of the imports themselves.

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La Sardegna porto del Mediterraneo occidentale: le presenze ceramiche in età giudicale ed aragonese

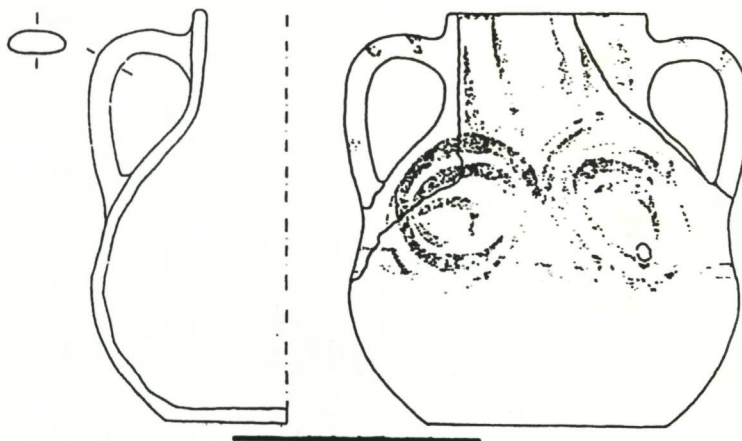
La Sardegna, grazie alla sua posizione geografica, fin dall'epoca preistorica ha avuto una fondamentale importanza nei commerci marittimi del Mediterraneo occidentale¹. Ciò ha necessariamente comportato, anche nel periodo oggetto del presente studio, l'opportunità di frequente contatto con genti e merci delle più svariate provenienze. Una traccia materiale di queste frequentazioni, che ovviamente hanno portato a contaminazioni culturali reciproche, è la presenza in Sardegna di ceramiche provenienti da varie e differenti regioni geografiche e culturali, ma anche la testimonianza di prodotti sardi che imitavano le novità che di volta in volta giungevano d'oltremare².

Il periodo oggetto del presente studio comprende un arco cronologico ampio circa sei secoli, in quanto le prime tracce documentarie dei giudicati sardi risalgono all'inizio del X secolo, mentre la data del 1479

può essere considerata, per convenzione e praticità di lavoro, il momento di passaggio dalla dominazione catalano-aragonese, nei paesi soggetti alla Corona d'Aragona, a quella propriamente detta spagnola³.

Molti aspetti del mondo giudicale⁴ sono ancora poco conosciuti e fra questi bisogna annoverare ciò che comunemente è indicato con il termine di “cultura materiale”. In particolar modo le testimonianze ceramiche sono ben poche e controverse sono spesso le relative datazioni ed attribuzioni a precise aree di produzione⁵. Ad esempio, all'attenzione degli archeologi che studiano il medioevo sardo si è da circa vent'anni imposta la ceramica comune dipinta in rosso o bruno, rappresentata da forme chiuse (anforette o brocchette), con superficie esterna ricoperta da leggero ingobbio o solo schiarita in cottura e decorazione geometrica o a disordinate spirali che invadono

Fig. 1.



¹ La bibliografia su questo argomento è amplissima, si vedano in particolare per il periodo medievale e la vasta bibliografia precedente Simbula 1993 e Tangheroni 1996.

² Il presente studio si basa esclusivamente sull'edito che offra documentazione grafica o fotografica dei materiali citati, rimandando ad altra sede la verifica di tutte quelle notizie sintetiche di rinvenimenti che non permettono una valutazione comparativa dei pezzi. In considerazione delle norme redazionali di questi pre-atti, però, solo una piccola parte delle ceramiche citate potrà essere illustrata: si rimanda pertanto alle fotografie presenti nella bibliografia indicata per i singoli contesti.

³ Sulle vicende storiche e politiche della Sardegna giudicale e catalano-aragonese si vedano AA.VV. 1987 e Casula 1990.

⁴ D'altra parte, considerato il fatto che i tre giudicati di Torres (o Logudoro), Cagliari e Gallura cessano di esistere entro la metà del XIII secolo, mentre quello d'Arborea sopravviverà loro per quasi due secoli (fino al 1420), bisogna essere cauti nell'uso generico dell'aggettivo “giudicale” in riferimento a queste quattro realtà politiche, economiche e sociali in molti aspetti differenti, specificando sempre ambito geografico e cronologico al quale ci si riferisce di volta in volta.

⁵ Per una rassegna dei rinvenimenti si veda Marini & Ferru 1993, 18-21.

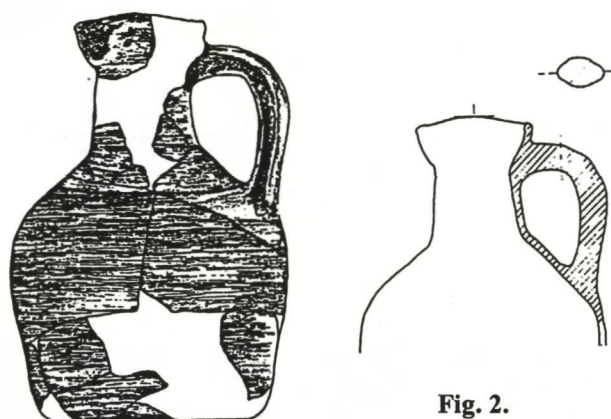


Fig. 2.



Fig. 3...

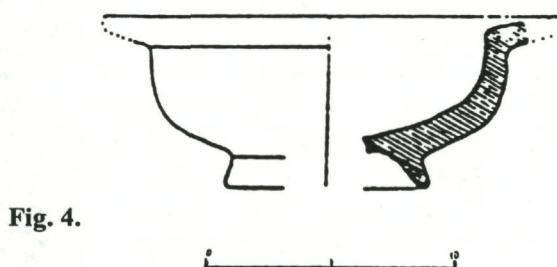


Fig. 4.

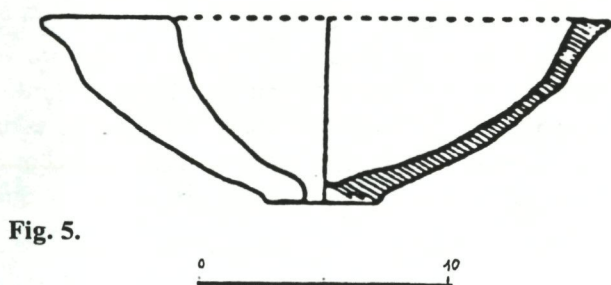


Fig. 5.

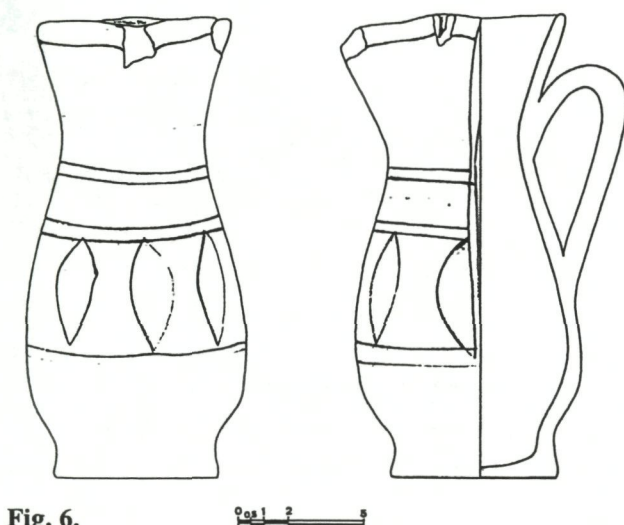


Fig. 6.

pancia, spalla, collo ed anse (Fig. 1)⁶. La cronologia ad essa relativa è ancora dubbia: in base a confronti tipologici la si colloca fra il secolo XI ed il XIII circa, ma a parte il caso cagliaritano di P.zza S. Cosimo⁷, laddove i frammenti sono in strati datati ai secoli XI-XII, ci troviamo davanti a rinvenimenti di superficie o non definibili cronologicamente con precisione da contesto⁸. Non tutti gli studiosi sono concordi nel considerarla una produzione isolana, preferendo alcuni sottolineare l'analogia fra questi materiali ed esemplari realizzati in Italia meridionale.

La ceramica comune non decorata di epoca alto-giudiciale (IX-XI) sembra invece rappresentata (nell'edito) solo da due brocchette monoansate rinvenute a Cornus⁹: la prima ha corpo biconico, orlo trilobato ed ansa a nastro, mentre la seconda è più tozza, dal profilo piriforme, bocca trilobata ed ansa a sezione ellittica. La stessa classe ceramica è molto più citata nelle pubblicazioni riguardanti contesti tardomedievali, ma purtroppo di rado viene illustrata in disegni e fotografie, limitandosi gli studiosi ad accennare alla presenza di tali materiali in relazione ad altri normalmente più significativi dal punto di vista cronologico¹⁰.

Ben più diffusa e di notevole interesse è la ceramica comune con decorazione incisa realizzata con un pettine o con una stecca sull'impasto ancora fresco. La datazione è incerta e le testimonianze provengono da numerosi contesti in tutta l'isola. Gli Autori che ne propongono una datazione si riferiscono ad alcuni frammenti recuperati in corso di scavo in loc. Corte Auda, nel territorio di Senorbì (Ca), da alcune fosse

⁶ Si veda da ultimo Dadea 1995, ma già Giuntella 1988 da cui è tratto il disegno della Fig. 1.

⁷ Pani Ermini 1984, 117 ed accenno in Spanu 1992, 70 e 65, fig. 46.

⁸ Forse è il caso del pezzo di Oristano in Depalmas 1991, 204, Tav. III, 8 e dei frammenti ricomposti ed integrati ora al Museo di Sardara e provenienti da S. Maria is Aquas, località

compresa nel territorio sardarese. Anche i frammenti segnalati in agro di Dolianova, Loc. Casinedda, provengono da raccolta di superficie: cfr. Salvi 1989, 35.

⁹ In Giuntella 1986, 145-146, fig. 11, Tavv. LXXI-LXXIV, LXXIX.2, LXXXIX.3. Le Figg. 2 e 3 qui riprodotte sono tratte dalla pubblicazione testè citata.

¹⁰ Una "mappatura" dei rinvenimenti relativi a questa classe

di scarico¹¹ e ad altri raccolti in superficie a Cagliari, in loc. Predio Ibba¹². In ambedue i casi gli studiosi hanno suggerito l'attribuzione al periodo "proto-giudicale" (X-XI secolo ca)¹³.

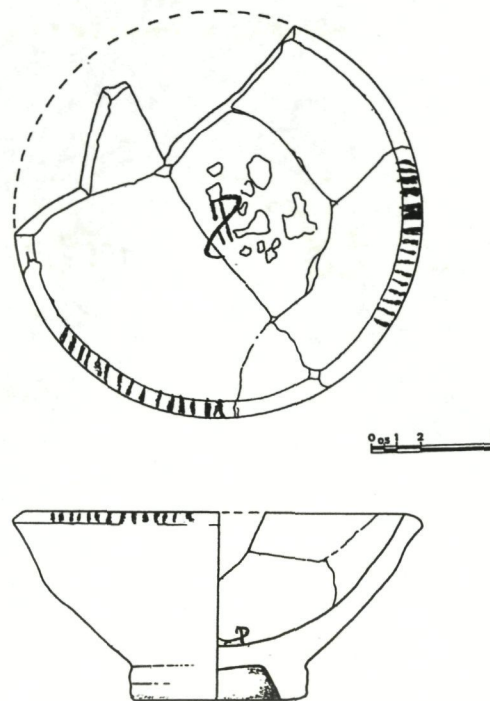
Le ceramiche invetriate sono molto diffuse e costituiscono un gruppo alquanto eterogeneo sia per caratteristiche morfologico-funzionali sia per tecniche ed aree di produzione.

La brocchetta invetriata con decorazione applicata "a pigne" (la cd. Forum Ware) conservata al Museo "Sanna" di Sassari è uno dei non numerosi esemplari di questo tipo importati in Sardegna¹⁴.

Numerosi frammenti di ceramiche invetriate provengono dal sito della capitale giudicale di S. Igia, a Cagliari, e si collocano fra l'XI ed il XIII secolo, mentre non meglio datati, ma certo posteriori al XII secolo, sono quelli rinvenuti durante gli scavi nel sagrato antistante la Cattedrale di Oristano¹⁵.

Dagli scavi condotti nel castello di Monreale provengono vari tipi morfologico-funzionali di materiali invetriati¹⁶. Fra queste vi sono bacini troncoconici con fondo piano, pareti leggermente estroflesse ed orlo molto ingrossato verso l'esterno, ingobbiati e ricoperti di vetrina verde più o meno brillante all'interno: i diametri sono variabili fra i 22 ed i 43 cm. e una buona percentuale di esemplari è dotato di una coppia di fori passanti sul bordo. Materiali direttamente confrontabili per forme ed impasto (rosso, duro e vacuoloso, con *chamotte* ed inclusi bianchi) con quelli provenienti dalla chiesa di S. Chiara di Cagliari¹⁷. Boccaletti di piccole e medie dimensioni (h. compresa fra i 23 ed i 30 cm.) hanno bocca trilobata, ansa a sezione ellittica o a nastro con solcatura mediana, profili variabili delle pareti (verticali oppure più o meno convesse), ma sempre fondo apodo e piano¹⁸. Il rivestimento quasi sempre è presente solo

Fig. 7. -



sulla superficie esterna ed è in genere opacizzato o, in molti casi, rivela tracce di devetrificazione. La stessa forma può essere rivestita in un caso con vetrina verde pallido in un altro con uno smalto sottile e lattescente. Ciotole emisferiche, il diametro delle quali mediamente è di cm. 13 sono rivestite solo internamente da un pesante strato di vetrina densa e opacizzata di colore biancastro o giallastro con molte striature di colore più scuro e colature in prossimità dei bordi¹⁹.

Anche il silos rinvenuto durante gli scavi del Duomo di S. Nicola a Sassari, datato al XIV secolo, ha restituito interessanti esemplari di ciotole emisferiche,

ceramica è in fase di elaborazione da parte di Fabio Pinna nel corso della preparazione della propria tesi di laurea, di prossima discussione presso l'Università di Cagliari. Si rimanda senz'altro al lavoro di quest'ultimo anche e soprattutto per lo studio dei materiali di questo tipo rinvenuti nel castello di Monreale-Sardara (Ca) nel corso di varie campagne di scavo condotte dalla équipe della Prof.ssa Letizia Ermini Pani (sulla struttura cfr. il contributo del collega Pier Giorgio Spanu in questi stessi pre-atti).

¹¹ Salvi 1990, 90-91.

¹² Dadea 1995, 248, 257, figg. 5-6.

¹³ Uno studio preliminare su tale classe ceramica è stato affrontato da Elisabetta Garau nella propria tesi di laurea discussa presso l'Università di Cagliari con la Prof. ssa Letizia Pani Ermini nell'AA. 94-95.

¹⁴ Cfr. Serra 1979, 8-9, Tav. XVI.

¹⁵ Per S. Igia cfr. Giuntella 1988, 96, mentre per Oristano cfr. Depalmas 1995, 225-226.

¹⁶ Purtroppo non è possibile attualmente fornire i disegni delle ceramiche rinvenute nel castello di Monreale in quanto lo studio non è ancora stato portato a termine. I materiali sono in buona

parte esposti nelle vetrine del Museo Civico "Villa Abbas" di Sardara (Ca) ed è in corso di realizzazione, oltre all'edizione integrale degli scavi condotti negli ultimi anni nel castello da parte dell'équipe della Prof.ssa Letizia Ermini Pani, il catalogo della selezione di pezzi presentati al pubblico in questa struttura museale di recentissima apertura.

¹⁷ Salvi 1993, 150.

¹⁸ In Ferru & Porcella 1989, 170, Fig. 15, preciso confronto con esemplare rinvenuto in Loc. Casteddu Ezzu, in territorio di Cuglieri (Or).

¹⁹ Cfr. nota 17. Sono state avviate le analisi degli impasti e dei rivestimenti di questi esemplari onde individuare con buona affidabilità le produzioni locali e quelle di importazione. Una attribuzione a produzione locale di ceramiche invetriate con queste caratteristiche rinvenute in varie località sarde (cripta di S. Restituta a Cagliari, Casteddu Ezzu in agro di Cuglieri-Or- e S. Francesco di Alghero) è stata in passato proposta in Ferru & Porcella 1989, 162 e 160-161, nota 11 per bibliografia relativa ai rinvenimenti.

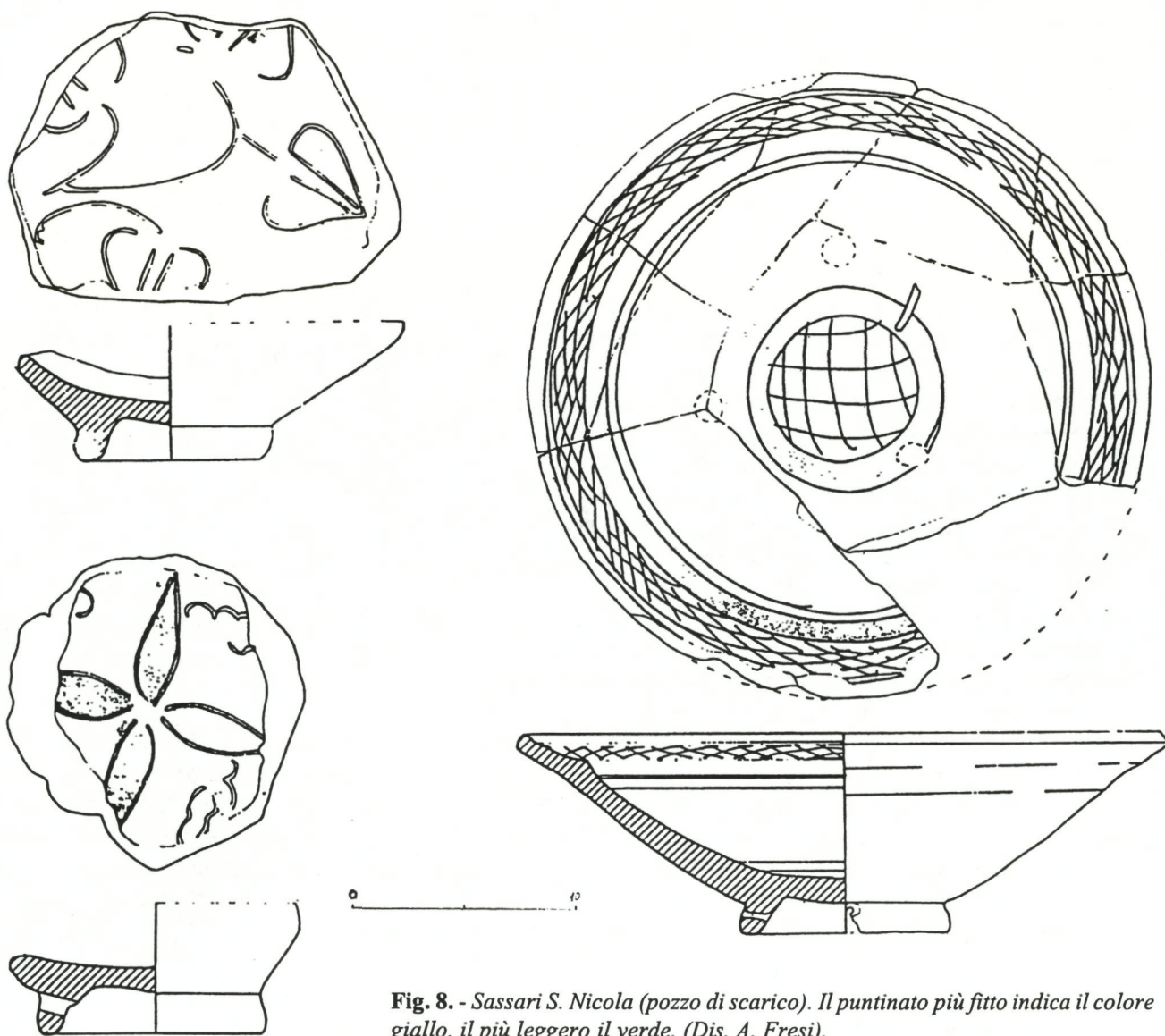


Fig. 8. - Sassari S. Nicola (pozzo di scarico). Il puntinato più fitto indica il colore giallo, il più leggero il verde. (Dis. A. Fresi).

ma in questo caso ingobbiate e rivestite da vetrina verde o gialla²⁰, che sembrano trovare riscontro in quelle stesse forme ingobbiate e rivestite da vetrina monocroma verde recuperate nell'area circostante la cattedrale di Oristano²¹. Varie segnalazioni relative a reperti ceramici invetriati riguardano numerose località della Sardegna²², ma in base all'edito non risulta ancora possibile un chiaro quadro dei rinvenimenti, così che non è agevole impostare un corretto confronto fra le produzioni. Le stesse difficoltà, se non maggiori, si riscontrano nello studio della ceramica da fuoco.

Le pentole in ceramica da fuoco associate ad anforacei da Corte Auda, in agro di Senorbì (Ca), restano per ora gli unici esempi editi di materiali di questo tipo databili tra X e XIII secolo²³. La pentola a fondo piano e parete verticale rinvenuta a S. Igia in associazione con la dipinta in rosso dovrebbe all'incirca datarsi allo stesso arco di tempo²⁴. Più tardi, in quanto attribuibili al XIV secolo, sono invece l'esemplare del silos del Duomo di Sassari con fondo piano, pareti verticali, orlo estroflesso e piccoli elementi di presa immediatamente al di sotto di questo e la piccola olla

²⁰ Rovina 1989, 167. L'A. propone di interpretarle come produzione locale.

²¹ Cfr. Depalmas 1995, 225-226. Chi scrive ha evidentemente accorpato per esigenze di sintesi le invetriate propriamente dette e le ingobbiate monocrome.

²² Per Galtelli (Nu) cfr. Pala 1989, 58-61; per Alghero Foschi

1986, 57-58; per l'abitato di Mara (Ca) Passeri, Ugas & Siddu 1993, 131; per Loc. Casinedda in territorio di Dolianova (Ca) Salvi 1989, 35-36; per varie località in agro di Senorbì (Ca) Salvi 1990, 76-77 e 90-91.

²³ Sono in Salvi 1990, 90.

²⁴ Cfr. Giuntella 1988, 96, 103, Tav. VI.

invetriata internamente con fondo piano, corpo globulare ed orlo fortemente estroflesso²⁵.

Di recente il panorama relativo a questa classe ceramica si è arricchito di nuovi elementi: due pentole biansate parzialmente ricostruite e molti frammenti relativi ad altri esemplari con differenti tipologie rinvenuti nel "butto" del castello di Monreale (Sardara-Ca), oltre a due olle da fuoco provenienti dall'abitato di Sardara (Ca), sono esposte al Museo Civico "Villa Abbas" nello stesso centro campida-

nese²⁶. La cronologia per questi materiali è compresa fra XIII e XIV secolo e l'impressione che si tratti di una produzione locale trova anche conforto nella corrispondenza degli impasti e delle tipologie morfologiche riscontrata fra i rinvenimenti dei due contesti citati (che seppur distinti sono geograficamente vicini fra loro). Interessante infatti la coincidenza delle forme delle olle sardaesi e di quelle sassaresi: si attendono nuovi contributi ed analisi degli impasti per verificare l'ipotesi di centri produttori comuni o

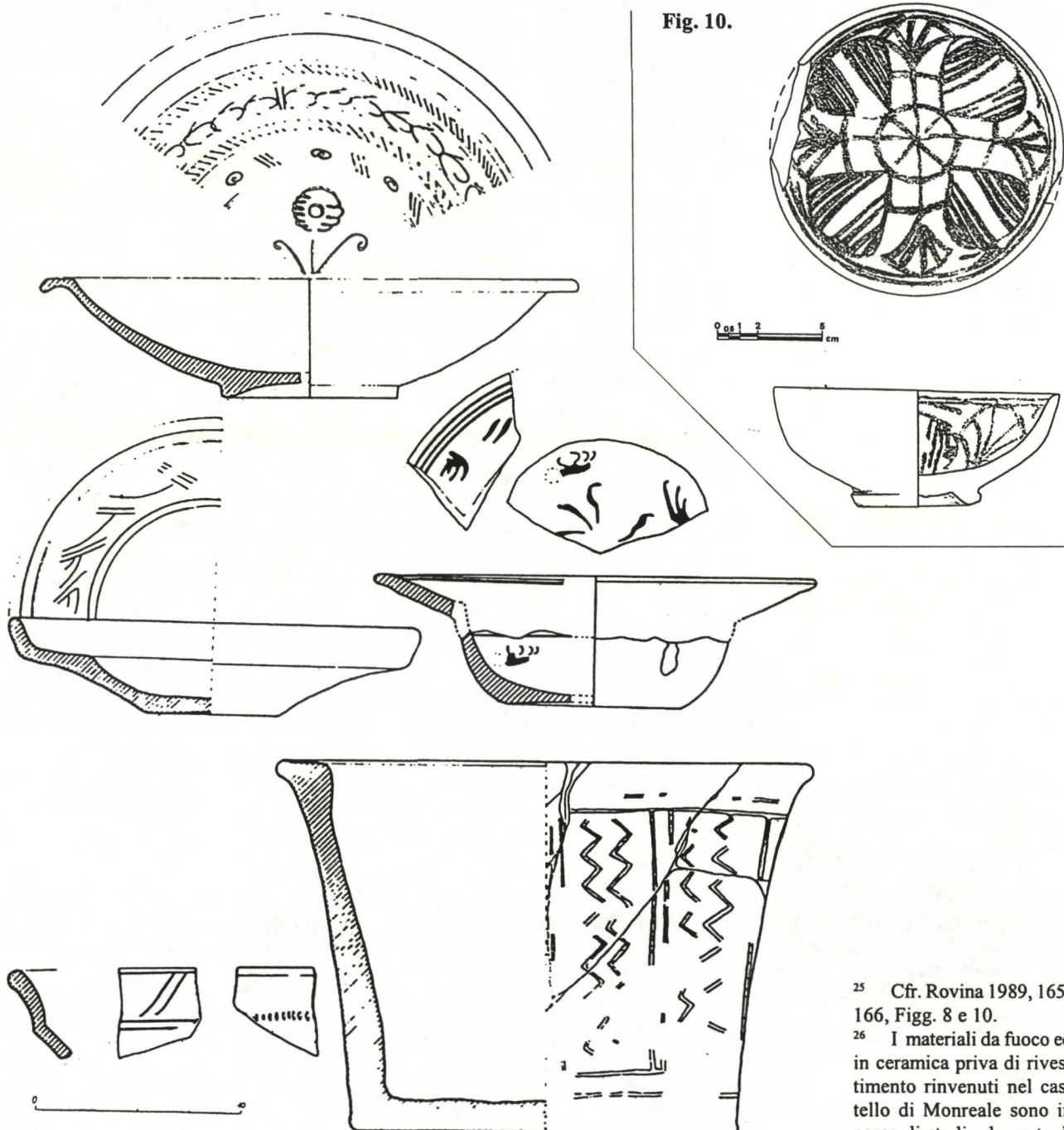


Fig. 9. - 1. Alghero (SS) Cala Dracumara; 2. Sassari S. Nicola (fossa); 3, 4. Sassari S. Nicola (vano ipogeoico); 5. Sassari S. Nicola (pozzo di scarico). Il puntinato più fitto indica il colore verde, il più leggero il giallo. Nei nn. 3, 4 il puntinato indica sbavature di ingubbio. (Dis. A. Fresi nn. 1, 3, 4; D. Capula nn. 2, 5).

²⁵ Cfr. Rovina 1989, 165-166, Figg. 8 e 10.

²⁶ I materiali da fuoco ed in ceramica priva di rivestimento rinvenuti nel castello di Monreale sono in corso di studio da parte di Fabio Pinna, mentre quelli provenienti dall'abitato di Sardara sono stati analizzati direttamente da chi scrive.



Fig. 11.

in stretta correlazione fra loro²⁷. Morfologicamente simili ad esemplari rinvenuti nel castello di Monreale sembra anche il bacino troncoconico con orlo verticale, rivestito da vetrina verde bollosa, recuperato nel corso degli scavi presso la cattedrale di Oristano, ma manca un accenno all'impasto per poter approfondire il confronto²⁸.

Il contesto di S. Chiara a Cagliari presenta una maggiore varietà morfologica per ciò che riguarda pentole, olle e tegami invetriati internamente, mentre solo un tipo di tegame con fondo piano, parete verticale, orlo dritto e brevi prese ad orecchietta poco al di sotto di questo sembra non conservare tracce di rivestimento²⁹.

Se per le classi ceramiche già trattate si è a volte ipotizzata una produzione locale, è il caso di prendere ora in considerazione le produzioni di sicura importazione dall'esterno sull'isola, che sono numerose e meglio rappresentate nell'edito.

Esemplari di ceramica islamica, prodotta in Sicilia, in area maghrebina e nella penisola iberica nei secoli IX-XIII, sono stati individuati fra i bacini ceramici che decorano alcune chiese sarde, nel corso di interventi di tipo archeologico ed in collezioni private sarde³⁰.

In questo panorama spicca certamente il vasetto islamico graffito a punta sottile su manganese e ricoperto da vetrina turchese, che è conservato al Museo "Sanna" di Sassari, ma proveniente da Porto Torres³¹. Ma anche altri materiali, frutto di rinvenimenti occasionali e confluiti in collezioni private delle province di Cagliari ed Oristano, hanno confermato la presenza di prodotti islamici databili tra IX ed XI secolo: sono tutte forme chiuse ad impasto ben depurato, solo un esemplare reca sulla spalla una fascia con decorazione incisa a motivi pseudoepigrafici, mentre l'anforetta biansata rinvenuta a Cagliari in Loc. S. Igia è dotata di filtro alla base del lungo collo³².

Per quanto riguarda i bacini ceramici, l'attenzione degli studiosi si è soffermata sia sull'analisi delle motivazioni che possono essere state all'origine di tale uso decorativo sia sullo studio degli esemplari residui in opera³³.

Gli edifici che ancora conservano bacini islamici dell'XI secolo sono la basilica di S. Gavino a Porto Torres (Ss) e la chiesa di S. Nicolò di Trullas (Semestene-Ss): il primo presenta produzioni tunisine fra le quali un bacino con decorazione zoomorfa ed il secondo sette esemplari con decorazione in verde e bruno su fondo giallino e rivestimento a vetrina piombifera che trovano affinità con prodotti della Sicilia orientale³⁴.

Sembrano da riferire ai secoli XII-XIII, invece, vari esemplari recuperati prevalentemente nell'area urbana di Cagliari: alcuni sono pertinenti a collezioni private, altri sono stati rinvenuti nel corso degli scavi archeologici in Piazza S. Cosimo e nella chiesa di S. Chiara (Fig. 4)³⁵.

²⁷ A tal riguardo cfr. la interessante segnalazione in Salvi 1993, 149, relativa a materiali inediti ritrovati in villaggi sardi abbandonati nel corso del XIV secolo.

²⁸ Cfr. Depalmas 1995, 225 e 240, Tav. VII, 1.

²⁹ In Salvi 1993, 149-150, Figg. 93-94. Indicato dall'A. il confronto preciso con i tegami rinvenuti in Loc. Corte Auda presso Senorbì (Ca), descritti in Salvi 1990, 90-91.

³⁰ Una mostra tematica intitolata "Moriscos" ha di recente riportato l'attenzione sui rapporti fra la Sardegna e la cultura islamica. Vd. il catalogo omonimo (Moriscos), le ceramiche sono trattate in particolare alle pp. 31-41 e 55-78.

³¹ Cfr. Serra 1979, 8-9, Tav. XVI e Moriscos, 34, n. 24.

³² Moriscos, 33-34, nn. 20-23.

³³ Sull'origine di tale tecnica decorativa dell'architettura sacra in Sardegna il lavoro più recente è Marini & Ferru 1993, ma

fondamentali restano gli studi condotti da anni su questo tema in ambito non solo italiano dalla Dott.ssa Graziella Berti (per la vasta bibliografia in merito cfr. Berti & Cappelli 1994). Sui residui bacini ceramici nelle chiese sarde cfr. Berti, Hobart & Porcella 1990, con particolare attenzione alle protomaioliche ed alle produzioni ad esse associate.

³⁴ Moriscos, 31-33; nn. 16-19.

³⁵ Ci si riferisce a materiali esposti nella già citata mostra tematica, per la quale cfr. Moriscos, 34-37, nn. 25-32, 34-35. In Salvi 1993 le islamiche smaltate e decorate con cobalto e manganese oppure rivestite di vetrina verde sono illustrate alle pp. 133-136. Per il frammento con decorazione in bruno e blu da Piazza S. Cosimo a Cagliari vd. Spanu 1992, 71-72, Fig. 50, 25. La Fig. 4 è tratta da Salvi 1990b, scheda 2 ed il pezzo proviene dalla chiesa di S. Chiara di Cagliari.

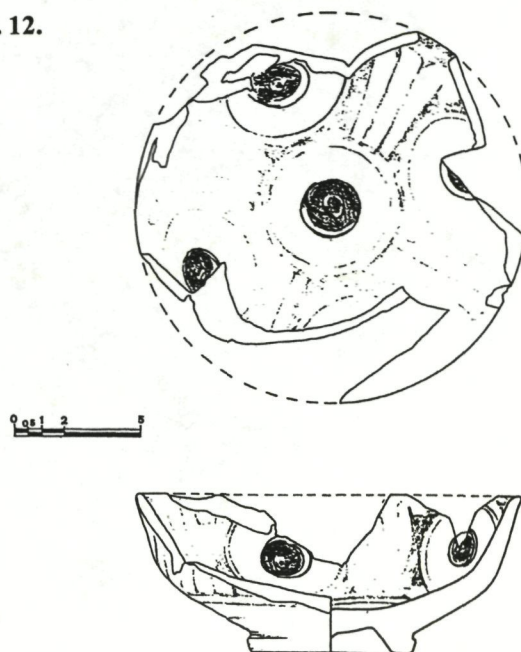
I bacini ceramici con decorazione realizzata in cobalto e manganese sono riscontrabili nella chiesa di S. Lorenzo a Cagliari, nella facciata di S. Barbara di Capoterra (Ca), nel campanile di S. Nicola di Sassari e negli ultimi due casi in associazione con protomaiole³⁶.

Le caratteristiche delle ceramiche islamiche individuate sono abbastanza omogenee: sono quasi esclusivamente forme aperte (in particolare bacini con piede ad anello), gli impasti sono chiari o rosati, ben depurati e duri, mentre il rivestimento è costituito da vetrina verde o smalto bianco, con decorazioni in bruno, blu o verde³⁷.

Le cosiddette giare islamiche, grossi contenitori caratterizzati da una decorazione epigrafica impressa sulla spalla, sono attestate in contesti di XIII e XIV secolo in varie località della Sardegna: nell'edito per ora compaiono due frammenti con vetrina verde rinvenuti a Cagliari³⁸ ed il frammento acromo dalla chiesa di S. Chiara di Cagliari³⁹.

Fra le importazioni ceramiche dal Meridione della penisola italiana e dalla Sicilia la componente maggioritaria è costituita dalla cd. "protomaiolica": alcuni esemplari sono stati rinvenuti nel corso di scavi archeologici condotti nel capoluogo sardo (convento di S. Domenico, Piazza S. Cosimo e chiesa di S. Chiara)⁴⁰ ed alcuni bacini ceramici ancora *in situ* sono inquadrabili in questa produzione⁴¹. Invece la *Spiral Ware*, prodotta anch'essa in Italia meridionale, fra XII e XIV secolo, risulta essere, a giudicare dall'edito, poco presente in territorio sardo: se ne conoscono attualmente solo cinque esigui frammenti provenienti dall'area urbana di Cagliari⁴².

Fig. 12.



E' molto verosimile, anche in base alle attestazioni documentarie⁴³, l'ipotesi che i mercanti pisani e liguri, diffusamente presenti in Sardegna, insieme ai propri prodotti importassero sull'isola anche le ceramiche islamiche e meridionali già citate. Dall'area toscana e ligure venivano importate infatti in grande quantità la cd. graffita arcaica tirrenica e la maiolica arcaica, attestate in tutta l'isola in modo alquanto omogeneo⁴⁴.

I contesti di rinvenimento sono sia "butti" che strati di frequentazione e non mancano gli esemplari integri (Fig. 5)⁴⁵. Una brocchetta con orlo trilobato,

³⁶ L'attento esame delle associazioni di differenti classi ceramiche in uno stesso contesto decorativo è in Berti, Hobart & Porcella 1990, in particolare sulle smaltate tunisine nelle chiese sarde a p. 155.

³⁷ Si ritiene poco opportuno dare una dettagliata descrizione di questi esemplari, in quanto non è possibile fornire alcun supporto grafico di riferimento. Perciò si rimanda alle fotografie riportate nella bibliografia appena citata.

³⁸ Appartenenti a collezionisti privati. Cfr. Moriscos, 36-37, nn. 36-37.

³⁹ In Salvi 1993, 136, con bibliografia sul panorama mediterraneo occidentale. Interessante notare che un frammento di giara islamica non invetriata proveniente dal castello di Monreale (Sardara-Ca), da uno strato di crollo sconvolto a più riprese (anche in epoca contemporanea), abbia subito la stessa sorte di quello appena citato proveniente da S. Chiara, cioè reca le tracce di malta relative ad un riutilizzo come materiale edile. Anche questo reperto è esposto nel Museo Civico "Villa Abbas" di Sardara (Ca).

⁴⁰ Dal convento di S. Domenico provengono due boccali ed un piattino esposti nel corso della mostra "Moriscos", per la quale cfr. il relativo catalogo Moriscos, 40-41, nn. 40-42; per Piazza S. Cosimo cfr. Spanu 1992, 71, Fig. 50, 23-24, per S. Chiara cfr.

Salvi 1993, 136-137.

⁴¹ Lo studio specifico sulle "protomaioliche" utilizzate come bacini ceramici in chiese medioevali sarde è in Berti, Hobart & Porcella 1990, al quale si rimanda per le tipologie degli esemplari, le associazioni con altre classi ceramiche e l'analisi degli impasti.

⁴² I contesti sono ancora una volta lo scavo archeologico di Piazza S. Cosimo e della chiesa di S. Chiara, per i quali rispettivamente Spanu 1992, 70-71, Fig. 50, nn. 16-17 e Salvi 1993, 137, Fig. 75.

⁴³ Cfr. sui documenti d'archivio, oltre che sui rinvenimenti relativi alle ceramiche in questione, Ferru & Porcella 1989, 159-160.

⁴⁴ Al riguardo si vedano, per la maiolica arcaica, Salvi 1989, 2-3, al quale si rimanda anche per il ruolo fondamentale dei mercanti liguri e toscani e per la panoramica sui siti dei rinvenimenti relativi a questi materiali, e Salvi 1993, 137. Per la graffita medievale e postmedievale in Sardegna si veda lo studio specifico in Rovina 1986.

⁴⁵ Ad es. in Salvi 1987. La fig. 3 è tratta da Salvi 1990b, scheda 5 ed il pezzo proviene dal pozzo medievale di Bia 'e Palma (Selargius-Ca).

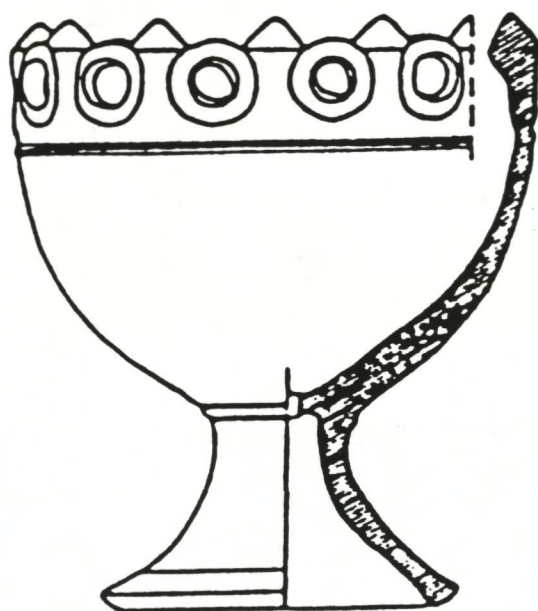


Fig. 13.

corpo piriforme, ansa a sezione circolare ed il fondo apodo non invetriato è stata rinvenuta nell'immondezzaio del castello di Monreale (Sardara-Ca) (Fig. 6)⁴⁶. In questo complesso fortificato, sia nel cassero che nel borgo e nell'unica torre scavata finora, la maiolica arcaica di XIV secolo è abbondantemente attestata (Fig. 7), mentre alla graffita arcaica tirrenica si possono attribuire solo sporadici frammenti⁴⁷.

In tutta la Sardegna risulta costante l'apporto di materiali ingobbiati e graffiti dall'area pisana e ligure dalla fine del XIII secolo fino al XVI secolo, quando probabilmente cominciano ad essere prodotte localmente ceramiche graffite monocrome nettamente distinguibili da quelle di importazione⁴⁸.

Ma senza dubbio i prodotti ceramici di importazione più diffusi nella Sardegna del tardo medioevo furono le maioliche di produzione iberica, che anche nei singoli contesti di rinvenimento sono percentualmente le più abbondanti (Figg. 8-9)⁴⁹. Sono le produzioni industriali di Paterna e Manises, centri dell'entroterra di Valencia, ad affermarsi maggiormente sul mercato isolano, grazie alla politica protezionistica della famiglia Boyl che aveva propri interessi ed incarichi politici in Sardegna⁵⁰. Ben presto le ceramiche realizzate negli altri centri iberici come Malaga o Manresa subiranno la forte concorrenza dei prodotti valenzani e nel secolo XV si può affermare che il mercato è assolutamente dominato da Manises (Figg. 10-13)⁵¹. Solo un secolo più tardi l'area barcellonese la soppianderà con il proprio lustro dalla forma ormai standardizzata nella ciotola apoda con fondo a ventosa, prese ad orecchietta lobata e prevalente decorazione a "triple trazo"⁵².

Così come già era avvenuto per la ceramica graffita, anche le maioliche iberiche condizionarono fortemente la produzione locale, nell'ambito della quale è possibile riscontrare esempi di imitazione dei modelli morfologici d'importazione: ciotole apode con prese ad orecchietta lobata, che sono in tutto simili nella forma a quelle barcellonesi, ma differiscono da esse per ciò che riguarda il rivestimento che in questo caso è vetrina giallastra⁵³.

Da questa rapida panoramica sui rinvenimenti ceramici relativi alla Sardegna del pieno e basso Medioevo si possono trarre alcune considerazioni conclusive. La ceramica comune, anche se decorata (da incisioni, impressioni o pennellate di colore), compare in numerosi contesti, ma purtroppo di rado è risultato possibile inquadrarla con precisione in produzioni geograficamente e cronologicamente definite. Analogo discorso riguarda la ceramica da fuoco, per la quale sembra esserci maggiore attenzione in rela-

⁴⁶ Attualmente il pezzo, come molti altri reperti provenienti dal castello, è esposto al Museo Civico "Villa Abbas" di Sardara (Ca). I disegni dei materiali qui riprodotti sono di Luciano Pilia.

⁴⁷ Cfr. nota 6.

⁴⁸ Cfr. Rovina 1986, 203 per quanto riguarda il nord della Sardegna. I rinvenimenti degli ultimi dieci anni nel restante territorio dell'isola confermano quanto affermato dalla studiosa nell'articolo citato. Le Figg. 8-9 riproducono le Tavv. I e II in Rovina 1986, 206-207, con relative didascalie indicanti le provenienze dei materiali.

⁴⁹ Nel "butto" del castello di Monreale-Sardara (Ca) rappresentano da sole il 20% del totale della ceramica rinvenuta.

⁵⁰ Al riguardo cfr. Ferru & Porcella 1989, in particolare alle pp. 161-162. Le Figg. 10-12 riproducono ceramiche rinvenute nel castello di Monreale-Sardara (Ca) ed i disegni sono di Luciano Pilia, mentre la Fig. 13 è tratta da Salvi 1990b (scheda 11) e si riferisce ad un esemplare rinvenuto in località

imprecisata del golfo di Cagliari.

⁵¹ Risulta impossibile in questa sede fornire una indicazione puntuale su tutte le varietà di produzioni riscontrate fra le maioliche iberiche, si preferisce pertanto rimandare a Porcella 1988 per ciò che concerne il ben noto Fondo Pula, ai cataloghi di due importanti mostre (cfr. Porcella 1989 e Moriscos, 55-75) e ad uno studio specifico di chi scrive sulle maioliche valenzane nel castello di Monreale ed in Sardegna (Carrada 1996). Sui traffici commerciali è lo scavo del relitto di una nave spagnola del XV secolo che trasportava abbondanti prodotti ceramici cfr. Salvi 1989. In tutte le opere indicate è fornita una vasta bibliografia su questa classe ceramica e sulla sua diffusione in Sardegna.

⁵² E' piuttosto recente un ulteriore rinvenimento di maioliche barcellonesi in area urbana a Cagliari, per il quale Porcella 1996, 103-106.

⁵³ Cfr. l'esemplare proveniente da Nurachi in Porcella 1989,

zione a contesti di XIV secolo, laddove è associata alle ceramiche smaltate di importazione. Le invetrate ed ingobbiate vengono nell'edito quasi esclusivamente considerate produzioni locali, talvolta imitanti nella forma esemplari smaltati di importazione, ma non sembra che le analisi degli impasti siano andate oltre l'esame autoptico, mentre le classi meglio e più diffusamente studiate sono certo le smaltate di importazione, che individuano alcuni poli produttivi significativi: la Liguria, la Toscana, l'Italia Meridionale e la Sicilia, il Maghreb e la penisola iberica. In tal senso la Sardegna senza dubbio è partecipe della fitta rete di scambi commerciali che attraversa il Mediterraneo medievale.

Risulta evidente dunque, in primo luogo, la necessità di approfondire la ricerca sul mondo giudicale, indagando siti significativi e, attraverso l'analisi puntuale di impasti e pigmenti o coloranti, definire con buona affidabilità le aree produttive alle quali essi vadano attribuiti⁵⁴.

Infine, sembra opportuno a chi scrive rilevare che ultimamente si è proceduto ad un maggiore equilibrio, nello studio e nell'edizione di contesti di XIV e XV secolo, fra l'attenzione dedicata ai prodotti di importazione e decorati, di più facile inquadramento cronologico, e quelle classi di materiali che (come molte invetrate, la comune, la ceramica da fuoco, gli anforacei) risultano in genere relegate in secondo piano⁵⁵.

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383, n. 667.

⁵⁴ In tal senso procedono le ricerche avviate dalla dott.ssa Ilaria Buonincontri in occasione della propria tesi di diploma presso la Scuola Nazionale di Specializzazione in Archeologia di Roma, discussa nell'A.A. 94/95 con la prof.ssa L. Ermini Pani. I risultati di tale studio sono confluiti nell'intervento dell'A. al III Convegno di Studi sul tema "Le Ceramiche di Roma e del Lazio in età medievale e moderna" svoltosi a Roma

nel 1996 ed organizzato dalla cattedra di Archeologia e Topografia Medievale della Università "La Sapienza" di Roma.

⁵⁵ Vedi per tutti Salvi 1993. Per ciò che riguarda i materiali provenienti dal castello di Monreale si è, in tale ottica, provveduto ad avviare le analisi degli impasti e dei rivestimenti di un buon numero di pezzi appartenenti alle classi ceramiche in questione. Si spera di poter presto offrire anche i risultati di questo studio.

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